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**LEARNING AT THE BACK DOOR: CHARLES A. WEDEMEYER AND THE
EVOLUTION OF OPEN AND DISTANCE EDUCATION**

A Dissertation in

Adult Education

by

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ABSTRACT

Charles A. Wedemeyer (1911-1999) was one of the first to develop theory for, and to give direction to, the growing and newly professionalized field which has become known as open and distance education. Through his leadership at influential institutions such as The University of Wisconsin, The National University Extension Association, and the International Council for Open and Distance Education, he developed a global network of colleagues and collaborators. His views on open education, Independent Study and Independent Learning became renown worldwide. Wedemeyer put theory into practice through the creation of the ground-breaking experimental Articulated Instructional Media (AIM) program at the University of Wisconsin, and as the First Kellogg Fellow at Oxford University and consultant during the formative years at the Open University of the United Kingdom, he imparted the concepts of a revolutionary pedagogical approach based on system theory which combined various technologies and media in distance education. In the 1970s, these concepts were disseminated world-wide resulting in the establishment of scores of Open Universities which have provided opportunities for millions of students to garner an education.

In his 1981 book *Learning at the Back Door: Reflections on Non-Traditional Learning in the Lifespan*, Charles A. Wedemeyer identified Open or Independent learning as "a single great new development in education" (p. 60) that would be a vehicle for a new era in higher education. During his career at the University of Wisconsin from the 1940s through the 1970s, Wedemeyer's contributions to the foundations of distance education built upon the democratic education ideals of the Wisconsin Idea and led to today's international open education movement.

While scholars have identified Wedemeyer as playing a significant role in the evolution of open and distance education, to date there has been minimal substantive support or analysis of Wedemeyer's contributions.

Through an examination of archival data at The University of Wisconsin, The University of South Africa, The U.S. Navy, and The Open University of the United Kingdom, this study provides a greater understanding of the evolution of open and distance education and how Wedemeyer's contributions and innovative design of educational systems shaped the field.

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Research

This chapter introduces the research purpose, presents the background of the problem, proposes the research problem, and describes the research methods.

Purpose

Through the examination of archived documents related to some of distance and open education's most noted theorists, practitioners and institutions, the research pays particular attention to Wedemeyer's role in the evolution of distance and open education. Heretofore, historians have merely scratched the surface of archived materials relating to Wedemeyer's achievements and influence. This examination not only sheds further light on Wedemeyer's career at the University of Wisconsin but also elucidates the evolution of distance and open education in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond.

Background of the Problem

Charles A. Wedemeyer's contributions to the field of distance education have been referenced in numerous books and journals but there is little literature available that contains substantial description, reflection or analysis of Wedemeyer's influence. Most distance education historical accounts (of which there are few) are superficial and not reflective; and it has been 20 years since Von Pittman (1990b), in a pre-World-Wide-Web world, wrote about the paucity of historical research related to distance education and advocated for historians to take up the task of better understanding the evolution of related practice, theory and scholarship. In the following two decades, there was limited work in the foundations of distance education, and the vast majority of distance educators and students of distance education continue to be focused on application of technology with little regard for pedagogical theory and are future-oriented (Black, 2004; Moore, 2008; Pittman, 2003b).

Three distinct themes emerge from the Wedemeyer-related literature review: *Theory and Scholarship*, *Internationalism*, and *Open Education*. These themes represent areas in which scholars have asserted that Wedemeyer played a major role.

Clarification of terms. As with most terms and concepts, and in particular, those found in distance education, terms are often ill defined and there are various degrees of confusion throughout the field (Bryant, Kahle, & Schafer, 2005; N. I. MacKenzie, Postgate, & Scupham, 1975; Moore & Kearsley, 2005; Thompson, 2007; Wedemeyer, 1981) and so a brief clarification of the terms used to describe the themes in this context will be useful for purposes of orientation.

Wedemeyer (1981, p. xxvi) defined *open education* or *open learning* in reference to the founding of the Open University of the United Kingdom (OUUK). In this context, it refers to education that provides "part-time learning opportunities for learners at a distance, who operate with a degree of autonomy and self-direction, but with open mediated access to learning without conventional prerequisites for acceptance or accreditation" (1981, p. xxvi). Further discussion of the myriad definitions of open learning and open education take place in Chapter 2.

Distance education or *distance learning* refer to "learning activities in which learner and teacher are at a physical distance from each other. Learning is generally part-time, and otherwise similar to that called independent. In some countries, the terms *distance learning* and *distance education* are now used in place of such designations as *correspondence study*, *home study* or *independent study*, or the identification of programs by the communication medium employed, such as radio or television" (Wedemeyer, 1981, p. xxvi). Contemporarily, terms such as *online learning* and *e-learning* also fall under the umbrella of *distance education* and *distance learning*.

Theory and scholarship describes the development of theory and the accumulation and publication of knowledge that is related to the field of open and distance education. Chapter 3 focuses on theory and scholarship.

Internationalism refers to the development of an international network of scholars and practitioners, and to contribution to projects related to International open and distance education. Chapter 4 focuses on internationalism.

Themes. A review of literature related to distance education reveals that Wedemeyer is recognized as a leader who influenced theory and scholarship (Black, 2007; D. R. Garrison, 2000; Garrison & Cleveland-Innes, 2010; Gibson, 1990; W. James, 1975; Keegan, 1996, 2000; Moore, 1999, 2004, 2009; M. Peters, 2004; O. Peters & Keegan, 1994; Pittman, 1990a, 1990b, 2001, 2003a, 2003b; Saba, 2003; Watkins & Wright, 1991), open education (Daniel & Mackintosh, 2003; D. R. Garrison, 2000; W. James, 1975; Moore, 2004, 2009; M. Peters, 2004; Watkins & Wright, 1991), and internationalism (Black, 2004; Bunker, 1998; W. James, 1975; Moore, 1999, 2009; M. Peters, 2004). Widely cited theorists in the field of distance education such as Börje Holmberg, Michael G. Moore and Otto Peters have stated that Wedemeyer not only played a leadership role in the field, but that he also had a personal influence upon them and their own work (Black, 2004). There is also some overlap of themes in the sources and some of the literature refers to Wedemeyer's work and to many of the citations already mentioned (Adams & Butler, 1999; Anonymous, 2009; Bonk, 2009; Brady, 1976; Clark & Neave, 1992; Daniel, Stroud, & Thompson, 1983; Donaldson, 1982; T. D. Evans & Nation, 2003; Garrison, 2003; Gooch, 1998; Keegan, 1993; Knox, 1991; Kovalchick & Dawson, 2004; O. MacKenzie & Christensen, 1971; O. MacKenzie, Christensen, Rigby, American Council on Education., & National Commission on Accrediting., 1968; Nasseh, 1997; Nation & Evans, 2000; Ohliger, 1982; OTA, 1982; Parker & Riccomini, 1975; Pittman, 2001; Runfang, 2008; UWEX, 2009).

The following sub-sections provide a review of the literature that covers the themes (*open and distance education, theory and scholarship, and internationalism*).

Open and distance education. In a reference to the open and distance education movement, Von Pittman (Pittman, 2003b), p. 23) notes that Wedemeyer "stressed the voluntary

nature of nontraditional education and placed correspondence study and other forms of distance education in the context of a larger self-improvement movement," and that "Wedemeyer saw nontraditional education as a revolt against the elitism of the established education system."

Daniel and Mackintosh (2003) assert that the OUUK and its open learning vision evolved from Wedemeyer and his AIM program, as well as his work at the University of South Africa.

Mike Peters (2004) and Michael G. Moore (2004) debated Wedemeyer's influence on the field and his contributions to the OUUK. Both concur that Wedemeyer did have a major influence on the OUUK; however they differ in their conclusions about what type of institution the OUUK became and also in what the roots of Wedemeyer's experiences were. Peters argued that the OUUK was a mechanistic system, whereas Moore argued that the Open University was more humanistic than Peters had implied, and in the discussion about Wedemeyer, Peters argues that Wedemeyer's work with USAFI was his main influence; while Moore argues that the Articulated Instructional Media (AIM) project was actually the experience that Wedemeyer drew most from and that influenced the OUUK.

Black also notes that the Watkins and Wright (1991) comments about AIM being a failure were disputed by Moore, and that Moore argues that lessons learned from AIM that Wedemeyer was able to share were of great benefit to the founders of the OUUK.

Watkins and Wright (1991) briefly outline the posts that Wedemeyer held at the University of Wisconsin and they discuss some of the projects that Wedemeyer led, such as the AIM program as well as Wedemeyer's consultancy at the OUUK. Kang (2009), like Watkins and Wright, asserts that the AIM program was a failure but that the ideas live on. Kang also asserts that USAFI was a successful consortium in the field of distance education, but does not mention Wedemeyer's relationship to the organization.

As noted earlier in this literature review, Garrison (2000) regards Wedemeyer as a pioneer in open and distance education, but he has also stated that "the exact influence" of

Wedemeyer's "writings and lectures on the establishment of the BOU (British Open University) may be open to debate."

Theory and scholarship. A widely cited book written about the history of distance education, *The Foundations of American Distance Education: A Century of Collegiate Correspondence Study* (Watkins & Wright, 1991) devotes approximately three pages to Wedemeyer's contributions to the field. In this book, Wedemeyer's major publications are noted as important contributions to scholarship and include *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study* (Wedemeyer & Childs, 1961) and *The Brandenburg Memorial Essays* (Wedemeyer, 1966f). Also mentioned is Wedemeyer's "The Postage Stamp Classroom," a short film on correspondence study. Wright's chapter notes two awards that are given by NUCEA Independent Study Division and *The American Journal of Distance Education* as evidence of Wedemeyer's contributions to the field of distance education. Watkins and Wright's (1991) research on Wedemeyer is cited in various historical accounts of Wedemeyer's contributions.

Von Pittman (Pittman, 1990a, 2003a) credits Wedemeyer and Gayle Childs as being two of the most important scholars in American correspondence study and cites their 1961 book *New Perspectives in University Correspondence* as an important work that challenged educators to extend the traditional delivery methods by utilizing telecommunications media.

Keegan (1996, 2000) credits Wedemeyer with being one of the first people to stress the importance of research in the field of distance education and also notes that one of the early definitions of distance education can be traced to Wedemeyer and his student, Michael G. Moore. Keegan (1996) also devotes several pages to Wedemeyer's development of the concepts of independent study and independent learners. Citing nine of Wedemeyer's works, he summarizes two decades of Wedemeyer's work in eight pages.

Otto Peters mentions Wedemeyer in his work and refers to him as a pioneer in the field (O. Peters, 1998; O. Peters & Keegan, 1994, p. 45). Sir John Daniel (1996, p. 61) credited

Wedemeyer with describing the economics of distance education in terms of “an industrialized form of education” in the mid-1970s.

Gibson (1990) has also written about Wedemeyer’s theory of independent study and has provided biographical snapshots of Wedemeyer’s career at the Wedemeyer Award ceremonies at the Madison Conference for Distance Teaching and Learning.

Another work that provides evidence of Wedemeyer’s contributions to scholarship is Linda Black’s (2004) dissertation, in which she interviews Börje Holmberg, Michael G. Moore and Otto Peters, three recognized leaders and scholars who have established widely cited theories in the field of distance education. One of the conclusions in this dissertation is that all three theorists agreed that Wedemeyer's published works, his definition of “independent study,” and “the AIM Project” were all major contributions, and Black asserts that after doing research on Wedemeyer’s published work, she reached the conclusion that “he clearly infused the beginnings of internationally shared scholarship and sustained it” (p. 323); however the focus of her dissertation is on Holmberg, Moore and Peters, and there is limited detail on Wedemeyer’s work.

In the 2003 and 2007 editions of *Handbook of Distance Education* (Moore, 2007a; Moore & Anderson, 2003), numerous authors have also briefly discussed Wedemeyer's contributions. Daniel and Mackintosh (2003, p. 816) credit Wedemeyer with having a vision that promoted the "fundamental right of learning" and that "was not a whimsical curiosity into the use of technology in education" but a belief that pedagogy should be held above technology – that education should be individual-centered. Farhad Saba (2003, p. 3) contends that prior to Wedemeyer, "America's approach to distance education had been pragmatic and atheoretical" and that aside from Wedemeyer, "theories of distance education have been primarily developed by Europeans, Australians, and Canadians."

In the past year, Garrison and Cleveland-Innes (2010, p. 13) called Wedemeyer a “pioneer in the theoretical development of distance education and a catalyst for the age of

distance and open education” who “focused on the characteristic of independent study that provided access to socially disadvantaged individuals.”

Internationalism. Moore (1999) provided a short historical account of Wedemeyer’s career in an editorial which appeared after Wedemeyer’s death on August 1, 1999. The editorial included remarks that Moore had made on the occasion of the Third Conference on Distance Learning and Teaching at Madison when he presented the first Annual Wedemeyer Award. The editorial highlighted Wedemeyer’s accomplishments and impact on the field of distance education from the 1950s until his honorary Doctorate from the OUUK.

According to Black (2004, p. 321), Peters, Moore and Holmberg all consider Wedemeyer to be a leader in the field of distance education from the 1950s to the 1980s and that “he instilled around the world an awareness of an emerging community of scholars in distance education, and initiated and sustained collaboration among distance educators at an international level;” and that he was one of the first distance educators to “encourage and facilitate international collaboration among distance educators via ICCE and through visits to various universities.” Ellen Bunker’s (1998) dissertation is a source of reference for Wedemeyer’s international network and contributions and provides insights into the ICCE/ICDE World Conference Proceedings while Wedemeyer was the President and active member, and Black (2004, p. 363) suggests that future researchers “might investigate and trace the relationships and interactions among all of the international players who created and developed scholarly activities.”

Another dissertation also credits Wedemeyer with making significant contributions to the field of distance education. Kang (2009) notes the AIM program and its systems approach and credits the program with having an international influence, particularly on the Open University, however there is no evidence provided to substantiate this statement.

Overlap in themes. Other sources that mention Wedemeyer include a handful of web sites (Anonymous, 2009; Gooch, 1998; Nasseh, 1997; Pittman, 2001; UWEX, 2009), however

the information on these sites is based on the references that I mention previously in this literature review. Through the years numerous books and journals (Adams & Butler, 1999; Bonk, 2009; Brady, 1976; Clark & Neave, 1992; Daniel, et al., 1983; Donaldson, 1982; T. D. Evans & Nation, 2003; Garrison, 2003; Gooch, 1998; Keegan, 1993, 1996; Knox, 1991; Kovalchick & Dawson, 2004; O. MacKenzie & Christensen, 1971; O. MacKenzie, et al., 1968; Nation & Evans, 2000; Ohliger, 1982; OTA, 1982; Parker & Riccomini, 1975; Runfang, 2008) have also noted and reviewed Wedemeyer's contributions. Most, however, provide little more than a few sentences, or at most, a few pages that mention the concept of the independent learner or of Wedemeyer's encouragement of research – and a few major publications of Wedemeyer's or of secondary sources are used as citations.

In two books that focus specifically on the history of the University of Wisconsin, Wedemeyer is given little attention. Wedemeyer's involvement as a host of the radio show *Literature Then and Now* in the Wisconsin College of the Air during the 1939-40 school year is documented in Davidson's (2006) history of WHA Radio and Wedemeyer's WHA connection is mentioned in a history of the University of Wisconsin (Cronon & Jenkins, 1999), as is his work in the Methods and Media area in Extension.

Short biographies can also be found in obituaries that were published around the time of Wedemeyer's death. These obituaries contain some personal information that most academic literature does not mention, such as family information, place of birth, key employment positions and dates; typical of information that one finds in an obituary.

Two memorials (Moore, 1999; UWEX, 2000) that were written shortly after Wedemeyer's death provide the most complete short biographies that exist. Both of these provide highlights of the career span events of Wedemeyer and mention his learning theories and philosophy of providing education to those who traditionally have been "at the back door." They also make references to his international network and to his influence on the Open University and

to other organizations around the globe. Typical of short memorial statements, they eulogize Wedemeyer and his work and provide a fairly extensive list of his accomplishments, however provide little or no details and certainly no analysis, as would be expected given the context.

At the 25th Annual Conference on Distance Teaching and Learning in Madison, Wisconsin, a panel session (Gibson, Moore, Burton, Hardy, & Bonk, 2009) was devoted to discussing contemporary issues surrounding “learners at the back door” (a reference to Wedemeyer’s 1981 book). Wedemeyer was also recognized as a major figure in the field in the keynote address at the same conference, and Moore (2009) recognized the AIM program and the Open University as being two “watershed events” that were the “beginning of a global, worldwide paradigm shift in higher education. An exhibit (Diehl, 2009) at the conference also included an interview with Michael G. Moore, who discussed Wedemeyer’s contributions to the field and recalled working with Wedemeyer as a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin at Madison in the 1970s.

Research Problem

Wedemeyer’s contributions to open and distance education have been noted in myriad books and journals; however, most have been descriptive and contain minimal substantive report or analysis to support the claims. To date, there has not been an in-depth study of Charles Wedemeyer’s contributions or career. Even the most comprehensive history of the University of Wisconsin that covers 1945-1971 (Cronon & Jenkins, 1999) lacks mention of Wedemeyer’s AIM program and Wedemeyer’s work as Director of Correspondence Study.

What is omitted from history can be as intriguing as what has been documented. Thompson (1996, p. 3) argues that not only is the discovery of new content important in the understanding, but that an “examination of the ‘dynamics of omission’” is also important in historical research.” Black (2004, p. 339) queries whether or not the omission of Wedemeyer’s role in the planning of the OUUK was “an example of a visionary not being appreciated in his

own context,” since Holmberg, Moore and Peters “all agreed that Wedemeyer played an influential role in the planning of the OUUK”; and she further emphasizes this by stating that Wedemeyer “provided ideas about adult education, distance education, and educational pedagogy in general.” It is noted that Wedemeyer lived and worked with Walter Perry (the first Vice-Chancellor of the OUUK) in Britain during the early days of the OUUK, and that Wedemeyer shared his ideas with Perry and others, but there is little analysis or evidence of the contributions that Wedemeyer made. That same year, Moore (2004, p. 321) wrote about the Wedemeyer-OUUK connection and notes that the AIM program contained such innovations as course teams, interactive audio conferencing, home experiment kits, etc.” Moore (2004, p. 320) also commented that Wedemeyer’s contributions “do not show up anywhere in the histories of the OU” and indeed, in *Open University: A Personal Account by the First Vice-Chancellor*, Walter Perry (1976) does not write about the AIM program, nor does he mention Wedemeyer. Likewise, other books about the early days of the Open University do not refer to Wedemeyer or to the AIM program (Hollis, 1997; Stabler, 1986; Tunstall, 1974).

Despite the marginal presence of Wedemeyer's efforts in published works on the establishment of the OUUK, on April 19, 1975, at an OUUK graduation ceremony, Wedemeyer, then the William H. Lighty Professor (Emeritus) of Education at the University of Wisconsin, was awarded an honorary doctorate degree from that very institution. In the presentation ceremony, the OUUK's Professor Walter James (1975) spoke about Wedemeyer's achievements and credited Wedemeyer with assembling "a theoretical base for the operation of adult and alternative teaching systems" and noted Wedemeyer's contributions to this OUUK system:

What's to come in open independent study for the adult learner is still unsure. What is sure is that Chuck Wedemeyer, who more than any other person secured lift-off for the vehicle, will be developing its guidance and control systems, and sending it further into the unknown, beyond the limit of its present orbit. Those whom such education has

reached out to and touched owe more than they know and far more than they can repay to him. The Open University – an inheritor of his inspiration, a beneficiary of his advice, and a learner from his wisdom - has the privilege of offering a token on their behalf.

Research Questions

The research questions that guided this study are: Does archival evidence support the retrospective, but to date, largely unsupported views of distance education scholars and historians that Charles A. Wedemeyer (1911-1999) played a leadership role in the evolution of open and distance education? What social and political forces may have contributed to Wedemeyer's marginal presence in historical accounts of the development of open and distance education?

Methods

Historical research. Historical research is a process of making choices about what data to examine (or not to examine), critical evaluation, interpretation and transmission of one's results (Bloch, 1953; R. J. Evans, 1999; H. C. Johnson & Johanningmeier, 1972; Thompson, 1996). Data sources include primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources provide the researcher with contemporary evidence from the period of time that is being studied and are also original in nature. Secondary sources provide an analysis or the prior story of the subject being researched.

Types of data or evidence include *records* and *relics* (Barzun & Graff, 2004). *Records* include data such as written chronicles, annals, biographies, genealogies, memoirs, diaries, and certain kinds of inscriptions. Additionally, *records* refer to oral data which may also include ballads, anecdotes, tales, and sagas from recordings in various forms such as tapes or digital formats. Works of art can also be included in historical *records* and these can also include film, videotape, portraits, historical paintings, scenic sculpture, coins, and medals.

Relics may include human remains, letters, literature, public documents, business records, and inscriptions. Language, customs, and institutions (as interpreted by contemporaries), tools and other artifacts also fall into the category of *relics*.

The Archives Library at the University of Wisconsin at Madison houses a wealth of such *records* and *relics* directly related to Wedemeyer's career. A thorough examination of the archive contents reveals that these artifacts include newsletters, newspaper articles, correspondence, speeches, travel documents, conference proceedings, project documents, audio tapes, video and photos. In addition, Wedemeyer's writing includes over 100 publications.

Additional materials that served as primary sources in this study are housed in the archives at the OUUK, Oxford University, The Pennsylvania State University, The University of South Africa (UNISA), and at the U.S. Naval Archives. These sources primarily consist of a variety of documents similar to those at the University of Madison Archives, but also include electronic media such as video.

The preservation of a sense of civilization, self, or of a professional field of practice and study such as open and distance education depends upon the narratives that we derive from the symbols, ideas and objects that are left behind. In the process of finding, choosing, and analyzing these objects or materials – and then in writing history – Barzun and Graff (2004) stress that historical researchers should operate with accuracy, a love of order, logic, honesty, self-awareness and historical imagination. Historical imagination requires the researcher to enter into the process of imagining a source that is needed (even without knowing whether or not it even exists), and then attempting to find it. This requires an "ingenious balancing of wish and reason," and of making "one's way from what one knows and possesses to what one must possess in order to know" (Barzun & Graff, 2004, p. 14).

A full history of a subject requires the reading of prior treatments of that subject, and the rewriting of the history of a subject adds, subtracts and attempts to "harmonize the views of

different periods into a larger but coherent pattern" that not only sheds light on the topic at hand but also sheds light on "the mind of each period" (Barzun & Graff, 2004, p. 159). A literature review provides background and an opportunity to examine the historical treatment by historians on this topic, and the problem statement and research question proposed a pattern or thematic framework for a study of Wedemeyer's contributions to open and distance education.

Finally, evidence that the historical researcher encounters "must undergo the scrutiny of the researcher's mind according to the rules of the critical method" and "*informed* common sense" must be systematically applied. (Barzun & Graff, 2004, pp. 120-122). While "[C]ertainty is never possible", the historical researcher can achieve plausibility, and perhaps even a degree of probability (Barzun & Graff, 2004, p. 120) by applying these historical methods.

Chapter Summary

A study of Wedemeyer's contributions to open and distance education is important because his work is not only cited as being a significant part of the evolution of the areas of open and distance education, but also because it is affiliated with the histories of The University of Wisconsin, The OUUK, The University of South Africa (UNISA), Oxford University, and other educational institutions and professional organizations (e.g. ICCE-ICDE) around the world that have themselves had a major impact on the field. Despite the assertions by numerous historians that he made significant contributions to open and distance education, theory and scholarship, and internationalism, there has not been a single, in-depth description and analysis of Wedemeyer's role and contributions.

Through the examination of archival data related to the aforementioned themes during key chapters in Wedemeyer's career, this study will provide a greater understanding of the evolution of open and distance education in the second half of the twentieth century and will also suggest possible explanations for the relative lack of attention given to Wedemeyer's work in formal treatments of open and distance education history.

Chapter 2

Open and Distance Education

This chapter focuses on the first theme that was identified in the background of the research problem: open and distance education. It begins with a review of the open education concept and Wedemeyer's views in this area, and then moves to an overview of the history of the open education movement, covering the democratization of education in the United Kingdom and United States, including Chautauqua, the Extension movement, distance education and the Wisconsin Idea. These examples illustrate how political and social events and movements have influenced the opening and democratization of education. Additionally, the chapter describes and analyzes Wedemeyer's contributions to the evolution of open and distance education.

Following the overview of the evolution of the field, specific open education projects that Wedemeyer influenced are examined, including the OUUK, the Articulated Instructional Media (AIM) program at the University of Wisconsin.

Foundations of Open and Distance Education

The origin of the term *open learning* has been attributed to the Open University (Black, 2004; N. I. MacKenzie, et al., 1975) and is frequently used synonymously with *distance education*, especially outside of the United States. *Distance education* has also been referred to as distance learning, home study, independent study, external learning, and with the development of new technologies, terms such as *e-learning*, *mobile* or *m-learning*, and *distributed learning* are in use. At the end of 2010, the logical integrity of terminology related to non-traditional education is still in question and 30 years after *Learning at the Back Door* was published, Wedemeyer's (1981) comments about the confusion of terminology are still echoed by scholars in the field (Iiyoshi & Kumar, 2008; Moore & Kearsley, 2005; Ram Reddy, 1988; Thompson, 2007). Wedemeyer's (1981, p. 55) musing about the "most curious aspect of it all – the people who work

within these separate but basically similar programs perceive themselves as in some way different from their colleagues in the other programs, as though the different labels represent genuinely different aims, methods, and programs in education” – still rings true.

In order to understand Wedemeyer’s role in the evolution of open and distance education, and keeping in mind that the term *open* has been and is still used in myriad ways, it is helpful to look at the history of the concepts and practice of systems of learning that have developed and that have been described as *open* or that possessed the basic qualities characteristic of *open*. In 1981, Wedemeyer (1981, p. 61) described open learning as a “process of learning that is not enclosed or encumbered by barriers, that is accessible and available, not confined or concealed, and that implies a continuum of access and opportunity.” Whether one considers entry requirements, student-input into learning objectives, costs, options for technology, options for media, or flexibility in time and place, educational institutions and systems lie somewhere in this continuum between being fully open and fully closed. Even if one views an open system as more of a student-centered attitude or approach, we would probably see, as Wedemeyer suggested, what might look like a bell curve if we looked at all institutions.

The trend towards democratization of education at institutions goes back centuries, and institutions such as the University of London, the Royal University of Ireland, and the University of St. Andrews are early examples from the early 19th century (Bell & Tight, 1993). More open systems have emerged through both the political will of the powerful and through the grass-roots efforts and organization of the common citizen. The following sections provide an overview of the ongoing democratization of education in the United Kingdom and in the United States, beginning in the 1800s, just before the Extension movement began.

Opening up education in the 19th century: Official reform and democratization lead to the Extension movement. The Reform Act of 1832 in England expanded citizen rights by granting “such privilege to large populous and wealthy towns to increase the number of knights

of the shire to extend the elective franchise to many of his majesty's subjects who have not heretofore enjoyed the same and to diminish the expense of elections” (TNA, 1832). Later, In 1867, the Second Reform Act gave skilled workers the vote and beginning in the 1870s. This was the beginning of a new democratic political movement that soon bridged to education. Adults from the working classes soon had the opportunity to attend extension classes which were associated with Oxford and Cambridge (Goldman, 1999).

Educational opportunities that were established also had political motivations. As more and more working class people became interested in learning, Britain’s Labour party became especially active in establishing classes that taught about democracy and socialism – in order to “integrate the working classes, train them for power and lead them to political victory” (Goldman, 1999, p. 95). Later, in 1884, manual workers gained the vote, further increasing the numbers of eligible voters. During this 54 year period, (between 1831 and 1885) the number of men who were eligible to vote rose from 366,000 to approximately 8,000,000. The right to vote, however, still excluded women and the lower classes.

Improvement societies such as the Wigan Instructive and Philanthropic Society continued to be established around England. An article (Anonymous, 1834) in the Preston, England Chronicle reported that:

A society ... is about to be established in Wigan, for the purpose of endeavoring to promote adult education and at the same time to render assistance to each other in the time of need. The plan is that of mutual instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history.

In the same volume, one can see evidence of educational lectures of all sorts. For example, the paper reports that “Mr. Livesey, of this town, delivered a Lecture in the Theatre, Blackburn, on the *supposed* nutritious properties of ale and beer.” An 1838 article in the Liverpool Mercury newspaper (Anonymous, 1838) reports that “there are few towns or villages

without a Mechanics' Institute" and that "the barbarians and the prejudices of our ancestors are rapidly vanishing before them, and in their place we perceive intelligence, industry, and morality." The upper classes saw evidence that these institutes were working and became more supportive of educational opportunities for poor adults. The newspaper reports that it would be devoting a section of their publication solely to the topic of Mechanics' Institutes due to both the popularity and the evidence that they were useful organizations. The Mechanics' Institutes remained popular until after 1870, when the government became involved in education and public libraries began to proliferate (Verity, 1995).

According to LeVine, LeVine, & Schnell (2001, p. 2) Charles Darwin was inspired by the British reform movement of the 1830s and believed "that universal education is the pathway to 'human improvement'" resulting in "social science disciplines, like mass schooling" that developed "during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." Although the effects of this phenomenon has been debated through these years, "empirical studies" in the last 20 years, "seem to have confirmed the Enlightenment conception of formal education as a pathway for human improvement" – and these studies have formed the basis of many of the United Nations declarations (LeVine, et al., 2001, p. 2).

In the last decades of the 1800s, a movement that emphasized education and societal social improvements arose within Institutional churches, and this was followed by the settlement movement which was modeled after Toynbee Hall in London (e.g. Jane Addams and Hull House in Chicago). By 1910 over 400 settlement houses existed in the American urban centers, and adult education was an integral component in the social reform movement. In addition to a wide variety of programs (e.g. picture exhibitions, reading groups, concerts, cooking and sewing classes, kindergartens, lectures, and political activities), college Extension courses were encouraged by the settlement houses (Cremin, 1988).

The Extension movement. During these same decades, beginning in the 1880s, the University Extension movement also rose out of the United Kingdom, and with it, a more open system emerged that created back door educational opportunities for adults.

These ideas were outlined in *The University Extension Journal* in 1891:

- (i) Admission of any person likely to benefit, irrespective of age, sex or social status;
- (ii) Imposition of the fewest possible requirements in the way of entry qualifications or matriculation;
- (iii) A programme of part-time study, under university teachers, extending over eight years or more and leading to a degree;
- (iv) A curriculum designed to meet the need so those who were bound to remain in their usual occupations, being a modular structure made up of the smallest educationally viable units;
- (v) Examinations based largely on the assessment of each course as it was taken, with little reliance on set-piece test;
- (vi) Courses offered in any place where an acceptable teacher could make himself available, the university to be based on the recognition of teaching and not of formal institutions (Marriott, 1981).

The First Annual Meeting of the National Conferences on University Extension was held in Philadelphia on December 29, 1891. One year earlier, the Extension Centre in Philadelphia was established and over the course of year over 200 Extension “experiments” were taking place. The first conference was attended by Michael E. Sadler from Oxford, who was Secretary of the Extension and also a comparative educational researcher. Sadler was charged by the British government to report on how the country was doing in comparison to other nations around the world (Higginson, 1994) and he was credited in the proceedings by the U.S. editor G. F. James (1891, p. 5) for “strengthening the system among us.” The goals of cooperation between

organizations were stressed in the proceedings. Attending were representatives from about 19 U.S. States, including Bishop John H. Vincent, founder of the Chautauqua Institute.

The Chautauqua Institute and movement. For students of adult and distance education, John H. Vincent's Chautauqua Institute is a well-known example of an organization that extended opportunities to adults in the late 1800s. Chautauqua's mission (Vincent & Miller, 1886, p. 4) reflects a growing belief in democratic ideals in education: "It exalts education, the mental, social, moral, and religious culture of all who have mental, social, moral, and religious faculties of all, everywhere, without exception."

Vincent's (1886, p. v) intention was for Chautauqua to become "an international centre" and the Institute combined a mix of "lectures, concerts, courses, and recreational activities, and a publishing enterprise that issued books, pamphlets, magazines, and study guides" (Cremin, 1988, p. 89).

"The theory of Chautauqua," according to Vincent (1886, pp. 4-8), was ... that religion belongs everywhere. Our people, young and old, should consider educational advantages as so many religious opportunities. Every day should be sacred. The schoolhouse should be God's house. There should be no break between Sabbaths. The cable of divine motive should stretch through seven days, touching with sanctifying power every hour of every day. We need an alliance and a hearty cooperation of home, pulpit, school, and shop, – an alliance consecrated to universal culture for young and old; for all the days and weeks of all the years; for the very faculties of the soul, and in all the possible relations of life. ... Chautauqua says therefore: Give them to the people. Hold up high standards of attainment. Show the learned their limitations and the illiterate their possibilities. Chautauqua pleads for universal education: for plans of reading and study; for all legitimate enticements and incitements to ambition; for all necessary adaptations

as to time and topics; for ideal associations which shall at once excite the imagination, and set the heart aglow.

By 1877 a post office opened at Chautauqua and within the next few years, Vincent hired William Rainey Harper, who taught Hebrew language courses via correspondence study. Shortly thereafter, Harper was named principal of the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts. Harper went on to later establish a University Extension at University of Chicago and correspondence study was part of this division. Other schools such as The Pennsylvania State University, Baylor, and University of Wisconsin soon followed with their own programs. The Chautauqua idea spread and it is widely cited in books and articles as a major influence on distance and adult education (Kang, 2009; Milam, 1934; Moore, Pittman, Anderson, & Kramarae, 2003; Simpson, 1999).

It was not long before Harper was recruited by John D. Rockefeller, who was investing millions of dollars into the University of Chicago. Harper accepted Rockefeller's offer to head the university and in the following years, raised millions of additional dollars from other millionaires which enabled the University to purchase blocks of Chicago real estate and to undertake "the greatest mass raid on American college faculties in history" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 350). Harper's belief in educational democracy and his familiarity with Britain's Extension movement and correspondence study, along with the adult education principles of Chautauqua, enabled him to create an innovative model at the University of Chicago (Cremin, 1988). Correspondence study was one part of that model, as well as the division of the year into academic quarters. Students were also permitted students to study major and minor interests with an emphasis on specialized scholarly research. Faculty promotion also rested primarily on research and publication, with teaching of secondary importance (Rudolph, 1990).

Another educator, John Dewey, began his tenure at the University of Chicago in 1894. In addition to opportunities to work with colleagues at the University, Dewey was influenced by his association with Jane Addams and Hull House in Chicago. His exposure to the living conditions

and social and political issues of the poor, and to Jane Addams' ideas about social progressivism helped to shape his philosophy about educational progressivism. Alternatively, Addams was influenced by Dewey (Cremin, 1988; Knight, 2005).

Five years into his decade of work at University of Chicago, Dewey's (1899) *The School and Society* was published, widely read, and "was translated into over a dozen languages" (Cremin, 1988, p. 169). Dewey moved on to Columbia University in New York and became more widely associated with the progressive educational movement. While Addams and others worked within the settlement house movement to promote social change, Dewey developed a philosophy that focused on educational reforms within the schools and universities (Cremin, 1988; Knight, 2005).

The spirit of progressivism spread throughout the United States during the end of the 19th century and the ideas of service to the ever-more industrialized and urban society that was taking shape. Additionally, the United States was also recovering from a Civil War and Reconstruction in the southern states saw the incorporation of tax supported common schools; however, Segregation and equality remained an issue for the next century (Cremin, 1988).

In the north, one of the universities that embraced the spirit of service to the citizenry and to the ideals of progressivism was the University of Wisconsin (Rudolph, 1990).

Progressivism and The Wisconsin Idea. In the waning decades of the 1800s, the University of Wisconsin in Madison became one of the leading universities in the country, and in 1903, Charles Van Hise took over as President of the University. Van Hise had been a visiting professor at the University of Chicago, and had also been influenced by Harper's ideas. There was also a convergence of political will at the University in Madison and in the Wisconsin government at the time. Van Hise was Governor La Follette's choice for the presidency at the University, the two shared the same philosophy, and Van Hise and professors from the University

served on public commissions, bringing government and educational institution into a more intimate and new type of partnership that some in the state resented (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997).

Van Hise, with the support of the Governor, carried out their progressive philosophy and vowed that the university should reach and benefit every citizen in the state. The original charter of the University did not contain the principles of serving everyone in the state, but after Van Hise's comments received favorable press – and especially after a book by Charles McCarthy (Wisconsin University graduate and the chief of the Legislative Reference Library of the Free Library Commission), entitled *Wisconsin Idea*, was published. The book contained an introduction written by Franklin D. Roosevelt. According to Stark (1995, p. 102), however, it is not clear who actually coined the term *Wisconsin Idea*, and he reported that “Dean of Extension Louis Reber made similar remarks” and additionally, “that Robert H. Foss, the editor of the University's Press Bureau” claimed credit for the expression, but his claim cannot be verified.” The definition of the *Wisconsin Idea* has changed throughout the years and has taken on both legislative political and university driven dimensions during its evolution (Stark, 1995). One can see from the first sentence in Roosevelt's introduction in that book – and the idea – are not free of political perspectives. Roosevelt begins his introduction by saying:

Thanks to the movement for genuinely democratic popular government which Senator La Follette led to overwhelming victory in Wisconsin, that state has become literally a laboratory for wise experimental legislation aiming to secure the social and political betterment of the people as a whole. ... All through the Union we need to learn the Wisconsin lesson of scientific popular self-help, and of patient care in radical legislation. The American people have made up their minds that there is to be a change for the better in their political, their social, and their economic conditions; and the prime need of the present day is practically to develop the new machinery necessary for this new task (Roosevelt, 1912).

The *Wisconsin Idea* is a powerful meme which has primarily referred to the University's service to all of the people within the borders of the state; and the idea has influenced and inspired the development of education of adults over the last century. Visitors from universities around the country traveled to Madison to learn from the University of Wisconsin's leadership, and Van Hise also became an adviser to their respective presidents (Cremin, 1988). Universities from around the country initiated programs aimed at social reform, and students at schools such as "Harvard, Northwestern, Michigan, Chicago, and Butler in Indianapolis fanned out into the cities, descending upon urban tenement slums to assist with programs of hygiene, dietetics, and improved child care" (Lucas, 2006, p. 182).

Correspondence education became an important part of the University of Wisconsin's strategy to provide educational opportunities to the citizens of the state, and was incorporated into Extension as early as 1891 on a small scale. It was formally organized when William H. Lighty was hired by Van Hise in 1906, and in the fall that year, 150 courses were offered. Lighty worked under three Deans until his retirement from Extension in 1937, and during that time, he helped to create one of the largest and well known correspondence study programs in the United States (Axford, 1961).

Less than two decades later, in 1954, Wedemeyer was hired as Director of Lighty's former Correspondence Study Program. Wedemeyer recalled, "I immersed myself in all the writings of William Lighty, who was a great teacher. I never met him; ... but he left behind a remarkable record of achievement, and I fell into it, philosophically, very well" (Moore, 1987, p. 61).

Wedemeyer's Work in Open and Distance Education

This section describes Wedemeyer's experiences in correspondence education which influenced the development of his ideas about open and distance education. Throughout his

career, he developed innovative programs and worked on projects that would eventually influence the future of open and distance education.

Wedemeyer's view of the traditional model of educational institutions was that the student must meet an institution's entrance requirements and must "serve at the institution's pleasure" – and he worked throughout his career to create systems that turned that concept around into one in which the institution primarily served the student (WHA, 1970). The National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB, 1974, p. 8) analyzed the open concept in the mid-1970s and called it "a fundamentally new institutional concept of education."

Wedemeyer recognized that the Western educational systems of the United States, Great Britain, and other highly developed countries offered an "extensive" and "pervasive" system with many opportunities for many citizens, but he also recognized that many adults were not served by existing systems. Open education was the solution to this, and Wedemeyer set out to create a system that could accommodate the non-traditional learner (WHA, 1970).

Wedemeyer (1981, p. 60) viewed non-traditional, distance, open and independent learning as a "single great new development in education." The growing need for lifelong learning, according to Wedemeyer, created a rise and demand for non-traditional education, and adult learners were capable of taking part in independent learning or independent study. This type of study shattered the space/time barriers of traditional face-to-face education and adults could participate in technology-mediated communication and instruction. This type of instruction carried myriad names that were associated with either the technology (e.g. correspondence, radio, television, telephone, satellite, computer), the physical distance (e.g. teletuition, tele-enseignement, Fernunterricht, Ferstudium, telemethics, or distance education), or the idea that learners were more in control of the process of learning (e.g. self-directed learning, self-planning, independent learning).

The idea of the independent learner was one that Wedemeyer embraced during his research and work in this newly professionalized field that was once known as correspondence study. Throughout most of Wedemeyer's career, the term distance education was not used – its use in English has been attributed to Moore in 1972 and Moore has noted that it was used in German via Otto Peters and others (Black, 2004).

Axford (1961, pp. 152-153) notes that The University of Wisconsin catalog of 1896-97 used the term *distance* in a description of its courses:

It should be clearly understood that instruction by correspondence is by no means regarded as the equivalent of resident study. It is not so valuable to the student.

Experience has shown, however, that the earnest student may do good work at a distance from the University where guided by competent instruction by correspondence.

To Wedemeyer (1981, p. 55), many of the other terms that were being used to describe teaching and learning at a distance had no “logical integrity.” All of the terms, according to Wedemeyer, were either “quite restrictive” or were “so general” that a definition was difficult to develop and he proposed that an international commission on terminology in non-traditional education should be convened in order to “recommend a terminology that would have a broad acceptance.”

Wedemeyer (1981, p. 57) held the view that the term *independent learning* provided a link between advanced learning and personality theory and that it was a better “descriptor for a kind of non-traditional learning that makes use of distance teaching.” Traditional institutions, according to Wedemeyer (1981, p. 70), tend to become “locked into an educational status quo that no longer serves societal needs” and that the inevitable protectionism that develops as institutions attempt to preserve their academic integrity ultimately creates a situation in which the institution is no longer serving the learner; the learner is merely serving the institution. Non-

traditional learners, according to Wedemeyer, need a more open institution, and this is the idea that he pursued.

The idea of open learning or of an open learning system, to Wedemeyer, was that education should be available from cradle to grave so that whenever a person needed education, it would be available to them. His belief was that society would benefit from an educated citizenry and that an open institution would “be open to the learner on his conditions and at his convenience” (WHA, 1970).

Several decades after the Wisconsin Idea emerged, World War II affected the Extension and University systems around the country and at the University of Wisconsin. After the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, male enrollments at the University of Wisconsin plummeted. During the next several years, the number of women outnumbered men and by 1944 the number of men had dropped from 7,700 to less than 2,300 (Cronon & Jenkins, 1994; Pittman, 1998).

World War II also provided Charles Wedemeyer with an opportunity to learn about correspondence education and to develop ideas and skills that he built upon as he worked in the field of open and distance education. After the war, Wedemeyer became the Director of the Racine Extension Center of the University of Wisconsin. Wedemeyer’s war experience played a role in shaping his ideas and work that would influence open and distance education.

Wedemeyer’s career in the Navy began in 1943. Wedemeyer was not physically qualified for ship and sea duty in the Navy because he required glasses to correct his eyesight; however, he was given a recommendation for a waiver of this defect. In an endorsement summary, the 32 year old Wedemeyer was recognized as “being very good officer material” owing to his major role in the “extensive curriculum revision in English in the Milwaukee school system” as well as the likelihood of his receiving high honors for his doctorate work at the University of Wisconsin” (Unknown, 1943).

Wedemeyer attended basic training in Princeton, New Jersey and upon completion, he was recommended for duty at the Bureau of Navy Personnel (BuPers) in Washington, D.C. Shortly after arriving, Wedemeyer was assigned charge of Naval Training Courses at BuPers, and in late October 1944, Wedemeyer was given orders to visit the Naval Mine Warfare School and the Naval Mine Depot in Yorktown, Virginia. Additionally, he would visit the Naval Mine Warfare Test Station in Solomons, Maryland. During his visits, Wedemeyer observed mineman duties and gathered necessary materials for preparing related training courses (Unknown, 1943).

Wedemeyer recalled,

I was very young, and this was thrust upon me. I was forced to think immediately how to train these people who were in the service, the ratings (the enlisted personnel), as well as the officers. The American, as well as the British Navy, for whom I also worked for a time, were faced with enormous problems because of the distance between the training experts in the consumers of education, who were in small and large ships all over the world with hardly any time to think, fighting a mean and vicious war, and no good chances to relate to other people (Moore, 1987, p. 60).

Upon completion of this research Wedemeyer worked on and served as editor of several classified books on training in Naval warfare. He also authored two other classified books on mine warfare, entitled *Mineman I* (Wedemeyer, 1944) and *Mineman II* (Wedemeyer, 1945).

Reflecting on this time, Wedemeyer related that he learned that “there was a high premium on innovative methods that would assure rapid, effective learning” for soldiers who were “dispersed throughout the world” under “adverse wartime conditions” (1981, p. xvi).

Less than a year after Wedemeyer began his work at BuPers, he was recommended for a promotion to Lieutenant (jg), and in February of 1946, Wedemeyer was informed by the Director of the Naval Standards & Curriculum Division that he had been commended for

outstanding service in the Training Courses Section, standards and curriculum division, training, Bureau of Naval personnel from July 1944 to March 1946, during which time he needed in the writing and editing of training courses, and later directed and supervised the entire training courses program, and in so doing you displayed keen judgment, outstanding initiative, and ability in the performance of duty, and contributed materially to the successful prosecution of war (Ensey, 1946).

Wedemeyer was released from active duty on April 27, 1946 and received the American Campaign Service Medal and the World War II Victory Medal. His commanding officer, Captain Kesey (1946) also sent a letter of recommendation to Professor Robert Pooley (Wedemeyer's former advisor at the University of Wisconsin), describing Wedemeyer as having been "outstanding as a writer and editor of training textbooks" who "carried out assignment of great responsibility, affecting directly or indirectly the training of most enlisted men and Reserve Officers in the Navy." Kesey pointed out that the training materials that Wedemeyer had created for the Navy were required to present technical material "in an easy, readable, informal style" with "sound principles of learning" that were "continually employed to provide the greatest possible benefits from necessarily quick (and often interrupted) reading that sailors and officers on duty are able to give to their training materials." Kesey indicated that Wedemeyer had coordinated other writers, had served as an editor and had also directed the distribution of books and materials. For his efforts, Wedemeyer was also awarded a commendation for his work and supervision on the entire Training Courses Program.

The year after the Japanese signed formal surrender documents aboard the U.S.S. Missouri in September of 1945, Lt. Wedemeyer returned from Washington, D.C. to Wisconsin and began work as the new Director of the Racine Extension Center of the University of Wisconsin.

Director of The University of Wisconsin Racine Center (1946-1954). In 1944, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (which became known as the GI Bill of Rights) was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In part, the G.I. Bill was developed out of fears that the return of so many men to the workforce might create another economic depression once the war was over, and this legislation would create an opportunity for some of the millions of veterans who were returning from the war as an alternative to unemployment. Over 12,500 University of Wisconsin students and alumni served in the military. Veterans were eligible to receive \$500 per semester for accredited training or tertiary education, and immediately following the war, an unexpected 2.2 million veterans created the largest higher education influx the country had ever seen. Even before the war ended, the number of enrollees was higher than expected, and by 1946, The University of Wisconsin at Madison received so many applications and the enrollments climbed to such high levels that it began to restrict all non-resident, non-veterans. The grade point and entrance requirements for women were also raised. The enrollment at the University of Wisconsin had doubled to over 18,000 from pre-war levels, 10,000 non-resident applicants were turned away, and even 4,000 Wisconsin residents were unable to gain acceptance. The increasing number of students also created a housing shortage in the Madison area. While one might have predicted that higher education via correspondence methods would have flourished under these conditions, the Veteran's Administration placed tight restrictions on the use of G.I. Bill funds on education by correspondence – partly because of the bad reputation that was mainly created by proprietary correspondence school practices and partly because of the Veteran Administration's lack of understanding of correspondence schools (Cronon & Jenkins, 1994; Pittman, 1998).

The G.I. Bill and the influx of veterans into the University system, along with the Truman Commission's reshaping of public opinion about higher education institutions serving a larger segment (and not based on gender, race, or national origin) of American society. Segregation and

inequality remained an issue however, and over the next decades the debate between those in favor of passing laws that would force equality and those who favored following “the established patterns of social relationships” culminated in the Supreme Court’s Brown rulings in 1954 and 1955 (Cremin, 1988, p. 256).

Between the end of the 1940s to the early 1960s, there was “rapid and constant growth” in the higher education system of the United States due to higher completion rates in the high schools (Lucas, 2006, p. 248). Enrollments at two and four year schools rose from approximately 2.3 million to as high as 8.5 million in 1970, and the trend was that the number of women outnumbered men. Federal agency expenditure also continued to rise for research grants, loans for campus expansions, teaching fellowships into the 1970s. Government investment in education became associated with increased economic development, but in the 1960s and 1970s there was increased opposition and student revolt that came with cultural change and opposition to the Vietnam War. Funding related to defense spending was especially controversial (Cremin, 1988; Lucas, 2006).

In Wisconsin, by the late 1940s, there were over thirty satellite university centers throughout the state, all located in cities that had an adequate number of students and that could provide classroom and laboratory space (Cronon & Jenkins, 1999). In 1946, the city of Racine offered the University of Wisconsin the rent-free use of one of its buildings, the McMynn, to use as a new Racine Extension Center. Wedemeyer recalled that

After WWII, when I came out of the Navy, the president of the University of Wisconsin called me in and said that they were going to start a whole new series of extension centers, and the first to be started was at Racine, Wisconsin; he asked if I would like to consider becoming the director or Dean of the school. This fitted with my own concept of the importance of taking learning opportunities to people where they are so I left almost immediately to go down and developed the Racine Center. (Moore, 1987, p. 61).

As director of the new Racine Center, Wedemeyer was responsible for selecting and deploying instructors, planning programs and courses, guidance counseling, recordkeeping supervision, public relations, determining the needs of students, and reporting to citizen groups. His duties also included operating the evening school and the school for both credit and noncredit courses, recreation, athletics, preparing of budgets, conference and committee work, cooperation with other University of Wisconsin officials, as well as cooperation with city officials and various agencies. One of his most important responsibilities, Wedemeyer (1951) said, was to create a “suitable physical and psychological environment for learning to take place,” and he was “developing it on two major lines. One was an undergraduate two-year program and the other was an equal emphasis on adult learning – working with the vocational schools and other specialized schools in the area” (Moore, 1987, p. 61).

In an editorial (Racine loses good man in Wedemeyer's transfer, 1954), *The Racine-Journal-Times* reported that Wedemeyer was leaving Racine for a new post with the University in Madison, and that his leadership had grown the Racine branch of the University of Wisconsin to a “respected” and “integral part of the community” that had provided people with the opportunity to further their education in formal university classes, adult education and cultural classes. The new director of the Racine Center, replacing Wedemeyer, was Dr. Albert E. May, Associate Professor of Mathematics. May had worked with Wedemeyer as Assistant Director of the Racine Center since 1946.

Director of Correspondence Study - University of Wisconsin (1954-1964). In July 1954, Wedemeyer accepted an offer and took over Wilson Thiede’s post at the University of Wisconsin in Madison as the Director of the University of Wisconsin's Correspondence Study Program, which had been started by William H. Lighty in 1907. Wedemeyer “was intrigued and excited at the idea of coming to grips with learning problems that foreclose the place where the person had to do his learning.” (Moore, 1987, p. 61).

The correspondence study program that Wedemeyer now headed was part of the Extension Division at the university and it served young people and adults throughout the entire state of Wisconsin. His role as Director of correspondence study also enhanced his opportunity to network with international colleagues in the field. Conference attendance provided opportunities for Wedemeyer and his international colleagues in Extension and correspondence education to meet, and the program at the University of Wisconsin itself drew visitors and correspondence from interested parties as well.

The Correspondence Study Program at the University of Wisconsin was also the largest correspondence study program in the world with over 8,500 students taking more than 400 courses. Additionally, the correspondence program was also responsible for providing all instructional services for the United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI), which served over 85,000 servicemen and women in the Air Force, Army and Navy. The number of USAFI related lessons taught the prior year by Extension Division faculty was as high as 300,000 (UWEX, 1956).

Public relations: Defending correspondence education's image as Director of Correspondence Study at University of Wisconsin. As was the case when Wedemeyer was Director at the Racine Center, his role as Director of Correspondence also kept him busy with regular appearances and speeches at Rotary events, High School commencements and other local events. In addition to the importance of promoting a branch of the university, Wedemeyer had another challenge. Clay Schoenfeld, speech-writer for President Fred and public relations person at the University, wrote a memo to Wedemeyer about "the general malodorous reputation of the commercial correspondence study schools, which tends to adhere to all correspondence study work" and suggested to Wedemeyer that they should never miss a chance of thanking editors who will print positive articles about correspondence education. He suggested to Wedemeyer that they

think about changing their “total nomenclature to University Home Study” to combat the stigma (Schoenfeld, 1957).

Wedemeyer’s challenge was not new to distance educators at public institutions. Correspondence education, from its beginnings, was widely regarded as inferior or as a suspect alternative to face-to-face instruction. At the University of Chicago, William Rainey Harper established a groundbreaking correspondence division that was both admired and criticized. For-profit correspondence schools such as the Scranton International Correspondence School capitalized on Harper’s claims that correspondence education was as good as or even better than traditional education by associating his name with their institutions and Harper spent part of his energies defending his own program and delineating the differences in quality that existed in the range of correspondence offerings. At the University of Wisconsin, William H. Lighty (who headed the correspondence division there in the early 1900s and who worked with Harper at the University of Chicago) detested the exploitive commercial tactics that were employed by commercial correspondence schools and even fought administrators within his own university over recruitment practices and quality of courses (Garrity, 1976).

At the first National University Extension Association (NUEA) meeting on March 10, 1915 in Madison, President Charles R. Van Hise noted that faculty at his university were successful in teaching some correspondence courses in which students had equal or higher success than conventional students. The first NUEA meeting included representatives from 22 universities that had correspondence divisions. By 1924, the NUEA had developed standards for correspondence courses that encouraged correspondence and extension courses to be developed and taught with standards equal to that of traditional courses (Pittman, 1998).

In his survey of adult education in the United States, Noffsinger (1926, p. 16) reported that “correspondence schools have more students than all the colleges, universities and professional schools in the United States combined” and that diploma mills were extremely

prevalent. And bogus degrees and courses were not limited to students in the United States. Dozens of charters were obtained for schools in Washington DC every year and then the owners of these charters would offer degrees to individuals around the world.

Bittner and Mallory (1933, p. 27) noted that private correspondence schools, with their large budgets for extensive publicity have popularized the method and indirectly at least heeded the development and public institutions, but that they have varied greatly in their excellence from the largest which sprang out of the initial efforts of Thomas J Foster, proprietor of the mining heralded Shenandoah Pennsylvania, to increase the knowledge of miners and mine technique, and thereby lessen loss of life in the shafts and galleries – to the latest mushroom diploma mill which is purely a money venture and makes no effort to furnish a *quid pro quo* in the way of real instruction.

Wedemeyer appears to have taken Schoenfeld's advice, and aside from conventional face-to-face meetings, he delivered his message about the benefits of correspondence education by using technologies that he had experimented with in the past, such as radio. For example, during the weeks of March 27 and April 2, 1955, Wedemeyer was interviewed during the intermission of a program that was aired on 85 radio stations throughout Wisconsin and into upper Michigan. The show featured the University of Wisconsin band playing Sousa marches. WHA's Myron Curry (also a radio-TV specialist) hosted the interview which was on the topic of "Students They Never See" during which Wedemeyer spoke about "how the personal relationship is established between correspondence teachers and students" (WIRENEWS, 1955). When Extension was celebrating its 50th anniversary, Wedemeyer talked about the international scope of the correspondence program, and at the Port Edwards PTA in 1957 he spoke on "The Challenge of Teaching Superior Children." In May of 1957, Wedemeyer gave the commencement address at Weston Union High School, where he presented to Mrs. Gale K. Childs the "Extension Student of the Year Award" for completing her last two years of high school through correspondence study.

Wedemeyer's leadership in educational television at NUEA and at the University.

Wedemeyer had been interested in the use of television for educational purposes since at least the early 1950s while he was working in Racine, and he was also concerned about the influence and cultural effects of television on society. In the 1930s, educators attempted to reserve 25% of the airwaves for educational television, however in 1934 the U.S. Communications Act was passed without this provision. In the years following World War II there were so many broadcast license requests that the FCC froze its licensing process so that he could reorganize the current system. In the immediate years that followed, the Joint Committee for Educational Television and Ford Foundation, led by FCC Commissioner Freida Hennock, convinced the FCC to set aside a number of channels for education (Zechowski, 2010).

The University of Iowa experimented on a limited basis with educational broadcasting in 1934 and other universities followed suit. Later, with World War II underway, the expansion of television faltered, although the media was used for education of air-raid wardens and for the general public on air-raids and first-aid (Levenson & Stasheff, 1952). After the war, the Chicago Public Schools and WBDB experimented with two educational broadcasts to junior high students, and CBS and the New York City Schools ran about two shows a month for two years. In 1946, an experiment was conducted at the NBC studios with junior high students who were given pre and post-tests during a session in which they watched a science show and then discussed it. Compared to a control groups, the results (although limited due to the nature of the experiment) indicated that there was promise for the use of educational television.

In 1946, only six television stations operated in the United States, and there were "probably fewer than 10,000 sets in the country" (Heuristic, n.d.). Only four years later, in 1950, approximately six million families had televisions, and the most popular shows in the United States were Milton Berle's "The Texaco Star Theater," Lucille Ball's "I Love Lucy," and "Superman." At this time, few if any commercial television stations were profitable, and the use

of television for educational purposes was rare. Few educational shows were being produced and the cost of infrastructure needed for schools to receive a television signal and to purchase television sets was prohibitive for most. Some schools such as those in Chicago, Philadelphia and Baltimore experimented with educational broadcasting, but throughout the country, there was minimal use in schools (Levenson & Stasheff, 1952).

In January 1952, Wedemeyer, Director of the Racine Center, carried out an early survey on the effect that television was having on young students in the Racine area. At the Fratt Elementary school, 350 families were queried on their opinions and television viewing habits. The survey was designed to be answered by families who had a television or not, and was based upon observations of their own or others' children. Questions ranged from whether or not the family owned a television to the number of hours per week the children watched; whether watching affected school accomplishment; whether television affected the health or physical well-being of children; whether television made children more passive or creative; length of ownership of television; and specific programs that were approved or disapproved by the parents.

The results of the survey were discussed at a February P.T.A meeting at Fratt Elementary School and showed that Racine children spent approximately 14 to 18 hours a week in front of the television in the primary school years, and an average of 20 hours a week in front of the set at the fifth and sixth grade level. The survey also showed that some children spent up to 50 hours a week watching television. Wedemeyer's personal files contain a range of television related documents: news articles, Rotary club programs, comics, and notes from parents.

On April 19, 1952, Wedemeyer gave a talk to the Wisconsin Library Association at the uptown library in Racine about the educational possibilities of television. In this talk, he introduced opposing viewpoints of whether television will make viewers more or less literate. He went on to say that the more the senses are involved, the more learning is reinforced. Wedemeyer also made the point that educational television provided more flexibility, convenience, timeliness,

and immediacy. Wedemeyer told the group that surveys show that television was the most compelling medium known and that control of such a selective medium could lead to consumption by mass groups. In the talk he outlined the different types of educational uses of television that were possible, and these included the classroom, adult education, children's programming, and general education (Wedemeyer, 1952).

He talked about the opportunity for people to experience and to be exposed to “people who live differently – think differently” (Wedemeyer, 1952). Wedemeyer stressed the importance of noncommercial TV and noted that 11 educational channels were added to Wisconsin's program in the prior week. His concluding remarks emphasized that while television may raise many problems it should be put to good use and that it was up to teachers, parents, librarians – all persons – should “work for the full potential of educational TV” (Wedemeyer, 1952).

In April and May 1953 Wedemeyer wrote a series of letters (C. Wedemeyer, 1953a, 1953b, 1953c, 1953d, 1953e, 1953f) to the Wisconsin legislature on the subject of educational television. Wedemeyer (1953e) also wrote to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy requesting that he reconsider his support of a Hearst interest in Milwaukee to change channel 10 from Milwaukee vocational school to Hearst Radio, Inc. He cited

mounting evidence everywhere that television in the hands of commercial broadcasters is not fulfilling its promise, nor does it appear likely that under commercial sponsorship television will do more than continue the inanities and unrestricted commercialism that has characterized commercial radio. There are, I know, some exceptions to this generalization; but the exceptions have earned distinction simply because they are marked departures from the general rule (C. Wedemeyer, 1953e).

Wedemeyer's view of commercial television, as he continued in this letter, was that it mainly consisted of “low comedy, brutal crime shows, and subtly antidemocratic programs that glorify the Strong Hero who solves his problems outside the legal framework and who suggests

that democracy cannot work because the average person is incapable of responsible action” (C. A. Wedemeyer, 1953). His vision for television was that it would “help us as a people to mature” and that it would consist of content that would “promote the fullest development of our people and our way of life; the kind of programs that commercial stations will not present because such programs cannot be geared to the selling of soap, or beer, or other items.”

Wedemeyer stressed that the airwaves belong to all people and that the commercial stations had the right to exist, but that since only about 10% of the stations were allocated for non-commercial purposes, it was important not to decrease their numbers.

Wedemeyer (1953b) also wrote to Governor Kohler, telling him that civic leaders in Racine were in favor of taking advantage of the full allotment of educational television channels by the FCC. The week before, Wedemeyer had been a part of “an informal meeting of eleven representatives of such organizations as the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the Racine Public Library, the Racine P.T.A. Council, the Racine Adult Education Council, and others” and urged him to allow a study about the effectiveness of television for education. He also voiced his concern of the loss of stations for educational purposes. The Kohler administration had recently put the state TV system on hold for two years, and Wedemeyer expressed that civic groups were worried that this was might be a delay tactic designed to help balance the state budget instead of actually study the uses of worthiness of educational television, as had been reported.

Three days later, on May 21 Governor Kohler (1953) thanked Wedemeyer for his letter, and responded that he was “convinced that the legislative resolution was enacted in good faith” and that it would allow time for Wisconsin to “benefit from experiences in other states” and so that the FCC would “continue to reserve the educational television channels for Wisconsin” in hopes that the “opportunity to utilize this medium for educational purposes” would “not be forever lost.”

Many organizations (e.g. Milwaukee Public Library, Marquette University, UW-Milwaukee, Milwaukee Museum of Art, Milwaukee Public Schools, the Milwaukee Museum) also supported this initiative. Channel 10 in Milwaukee eventually did become an educational television station and was licensed by the Milwaukee Board of Vocational Technical and Adult Education. Its first broadcast was in October of 1957 (MPTV, 2010).

Wedemeyer's growing expertise and interest in educational television also landed him a leadership role as chairman of the of the NUEA correspondence study division committee on radio and TV. He continued to research and to collaborate with colleagues, and in the autumn, (October 12-15, 1958) Wedemeyer attended a conference on teaching scientific and technical subjects by correspondence at the University of Illinois, at Allerton House, in Monticello. Two weeks later, at a November 1 conference, he gave a talk on the topic of "The Role of the Supervisor in Correspondence Study-Television Courses" at the University of Nebraska campus in Lincoln.

On February 12, 1958 Wedemeyer and the University announced a plan for combining correspondence study with television college level courses. This plan had originally been submitted to NUEA in Athens, Georgia the spring before, but now was going to be reviewed at the Center of Liberal Education for Adults in Chicago as the next step before submission to NUEA for a financial grant. One colleague that Wedemeyer corresponded with was Kenneth D. Wright, the Director of Broadcasting Services at The University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension in Knoxville, who told Wedemeyer that he "had no sophistication in the field of correspondence study" but he suggested the mixing of television and traditional correspondence" and that they should be researched together (Wright, 1958).

In 1959, Wedemeyer was the correspondence advisor for what was announced as the first graduate course that would use television and correspondence education for credit. Working with Wedemeyer as research advisor was Professor Percy H. Tannenbaum, who was also the Director

of Mass Communications Research Center. The course explored concepts of audio-visual education and was developed as a joint venture between the Extension division and the University of Wisconsin School of Education. It was to be offered to thousands of students in nine areas of the United States and courses would be televised by local, network, and educational stations in those areas of the country (UWEX, 1959).

The course was also going to be taught by “the modern team teaching method” and was designed for between 2,500 to 10,000 enrollees who would be “given tests and projects by the UW Extension Division” which would also “handle grading of papers and other administrative functions” (Bauder, 1959). The course was developed with the assistance of a \$100,000 grant enabled by the National Defense Education Act. One of the main objectives of the course was to have students evaluate and improve methods of audio-visual education throughout the country. It is significant to note that Wedemeyer was experimenting with the course team during the 1950s, a decade before the OUUK was established. Incorporating television into the educational process meant that a variety of skills and expertise were needed. A team of individuals was needed if a quality course was to be created. Experts working together as a team could work more efficiently and create a high quality course.

Wedemeyer’s experimentation and use of the course team and multiple types of media would surface again in an experimental program that he established in the early 1960s at the University of Wisconsin, The Articulated Instructional Media Program (AIM).

The Articulated Instructional Media Program (AIM). In the United States during the 1960s and 1970s Progressive educational movements and the trend towards further democratization of education were underway, exemplified by those in California and New York. California developed a tiered system of junior colleges, state colleges, and the University of California which served distinct student groups depending on academic achievement. New York experimented with open enrollment at the college level until a budget crisis in the mid-1970s

occurred. These progressive movements, according to Cremin (1988, p. 255), continued with a historic “tension between the commitment to the creation of knowledge and the commitment to popularization” of education.

In the United Kingdom, a social, political and educational movement was also occurring, and Wedemeyer’s AIM program at the University of Wisconsin would serve as a model for an Open University that would become a model for scores of other Open Universities around the world. Today there are millions of students attending Open Universities throughout the world and at least a dozen mega-universities enroll over 100,000 students (Daniel, Mackintosh, & Diehl, 2007).

AIM officially began in February of 1964, when a grant of \$387,000 (“seed money” (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969, p. 13)) was awarded from the Carnegie Institute, along with an expected \$1.2M four year expenditure. The Articulated Instructional Media program officially ran from date 1964 to 1968, however Wedemeyer documented the idea two years earlier in June 1962 in *The Case for Articulated, Cross-Media Programs of Learning*, a “position paper” (Wedemeyer, 1962a), which argued that the United States was facing a time of crisis. Forty-five years later, most of Wedemeyer’s list of critical educational issues are still relevant:

increasing population; increase in the amount of knowledge; increase in complexity of all aspects of living; increase in the rate of change in occupations; increase in probability that people will need to be retrained; increased mobility of citizens; decrease in effective supply of teachers; decrease in amount of tax dollars devoted to education” (Wedemeyer, 1962a, p. 2).

Wedemeyer argued that most educational systems had evolved around the face-to-face classroom model but that other effective methods had been largely ignored in higher education and in Adult Education, largely because of the disruption to the teacher centered methods and to existing administrations in organizations. He also accused professional and educational

associations of “blacklisting” non-traditional methods of learning, despite research that showed that these alternative methods were effective. He argued that a learner-centered approach would improve not only the system for those who were currently in the system, but would also open up the system to those who, up to that point, had not had the opportunity to access the system (Wedemeyer, 1962a).

Two of the basic assumptions of AIM were that people who should be reached were not being reached by existing education institutions and programs, and that although educational institutions had materials, there were structural barriers and inadequate teaching methods that were holding back the delivery. AIM was to “make its special contribution of experience and experimentation in the area of ‘logistics’” and was “intended to supplement, not to supplant existing institutions and programs” (Wedemeyer, 1964e, p. 5).

Some of the ways that these goals could be achieved would be by utilizing existing facilities – schools, buses and unemployed teachers could be utilized during off hours or in summer months. A mix of media (e.g. paper, books, radio, television, and telephone) should be utilized to provide students both maximum access and flexibility according to learning style. Wedemeyer advocated utilizing Educational television (ETV) in combination with correspondence education but believed that it should be combined with a feedback system for students. He also argued that using local mentors and providing opportunities for group discussion in a guided, coordinated, and paced system would yield the greatest results. In addition, using a systems approach in design and development, with a combination of media or materials would also provide the best format for learning (Wedemeyer, 1964e).

Today (2011), 40 years after Wedemeyer’s comments, combining a variety of media or formats is much easier. Internet based and so-called Web 2.0 technologies, which are delivered via the World Wide Web, allow users to combine text, audio and video – and even allow them to create digital avatars which can navigate as surrogates in ‘virtual’ worlds. Wedemeyer’s ideas

about a systems approach, local tutors and combining media are all methods that the OUUK implemented in its earliest phases. Today, one can find books that discuss the “new” concept of *blended learning*, but the AIM program had this concept incorporated into its design in the early 1960s.

Potential students in the AIM program included high school graduates, discharged veterans, geographically isolated people, impoverished people in urban centers (e.g. at the time, it was estimated that 35,000 college drop-outs lived in the urban Milwaukee area – and despite the fact that there were more facilities available there, the opportunities were “not packaged in ways that suited their needs” (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969, p. 22)), other college drop-outs, those who sought advanced degrees but who could not attend in traditional ways and women in general. Barriers to education that Wedemeyer identified were “location, cost, social walls (prestige/image, class, ethnic, religion, race)” (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969, p. 5).

AIM was conceived on the idea that the multiple approaches “could be combined to create a learning methodology more effective than any previously in existence. Students would be able to move largely at their own pace and go from area to area, course to course, as their needs matured. At no point in the sequence would opportunity be determined by such irrelevancies to personal learning as finding enough students to justify formation of a class” (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969, p. 9).

The AIM program was organized so that it would serve the entire state of Wisconsin and would make use of resources that the University of Wisconsin had to offer. In addition, the AIM program planners strove to incorporate a range of advisory committee members who represented the entire system, and this committee developed the policies. Consultants in the process also included faculty and specialists from a range of disciplines.

Students were either at the freshman or sophomore level or working towards a Master’s degree with an emphasis in mechanical engineering. Through independent study, students were

permitted to take between 18 and 24 months to complete a semester's worth of work. Students were given the status of regularly enrolled on-campus students. Most of the students were from Milwaukee and the Fox Valley center also had some students.

In July of 1966, Wedemeyer was named Director of Instructional Media, a position that he held until the following year when he was given the title of William H. Lighty Professor of Education. Robert E. Najem, at the Fox Valley Center, was also named Executive Director of the AIM program at University extension, taking over Wedemeyer's old post (UWEX, 1966). Wedemeyer continued to supervise the AIM program, in his new post as Director of Instructional Media for Extension.

Faculty development in the AIM program. Another purpose of the AIM program was to provide an opportunity for faculty members to experiment with new media and with new teaching techniques that would place an emphasis on the student's needs. Faculty development seminars were held in the first two years and to the committee's surprise, over 850 faculty members attended. Interest in learning about innovative instructional methods was high, and as a result of these seminars, the AIM staff received proposals from faculty. Some faculty may have participated solely to improve their own traditional classes, but the AIM staff believed that course proposals could be adapted to serve external participants. Wedemeyer and Najem (1969, p. 24) also reported that "Comments, suggestions, criticisms by faculty participants ran the gamut from excessive praise to undisguised hostility." One faculty member provided some interesting feedback, saying: "The seminars have given me the feeling that we are on the threshold of a revolution in teaching. The new devices and techniques are overwhelming in their diversity and it leaves one with a feeling of helplessness in view of all the questions they pose in making a start for their effective utilization." The faculty member who made this comment in the mid-1960s was referring to the use of projectors and film strips.

Over the course of the four year AIM experiment, approximately 400 students took classes and the Freshman-Sophomore Program became a part of Extension. After the second year, students from Milwaukee and Wausau participated in courses such as freshman forum, speech 250, history 201, sociology, botany, German, algebra, physics, English, mechanical engineering, library sciences, philosophy, and art education. Another test program opened in the Fox Valley area and after that it expanded to all nine University centers. State universities were also included in the plan, and this was approved in July of 1966 by the Council of Presidents of the state Universities of Wisconsin. The plan was that the AIM philosophy and operations would be shared with state University representatives at workshops, and then in turn those representatives would go back to their own universities and re-create the workshops for faculty and administrators. Courses would be developed and produced by the state universities and in cooperation with AIM, students could then enjoy the complete freedom to enroll in both state University and University of Wisconsin courses that would lead to their degrees (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969).

The AIM program came to a close after four years, and Wedemeyer and Najem (1969) reported that the project made an impact in five areas: “course design, course development, course administration, coordinator of matching funds for Title VI, and a research operation” (p. 62). In a letter to Wedemeyer in 1970, Florence Anderson (1970), Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation of New York wrote to Wedemeyer and expressed disappointment that “AIM had not itself become a large-scale degree program as originally hoped” but added that “I am glad to know that, through your efforts and of others involved, it did set the state for the development of the present exciting plans.”

There were two plans that Anderson was referring to. The first was the plan for an Open School, which was part of a plan for “cradle to grave learning” in the State of Wisconsin – and the second was another innovative plan for the Open University in the United Kingdom (OUUK).

Forty thousand students applied for the first courses that began at the OUUK and 25,000 were enrolled in January of 1971.

The Open University of the United Kingdom (OUUK): Roots

This section provides a synthesis of and analysis of events, social and political movements, historical accounts, institutions, and people that played a role in the design and development of the OUUK.

In the UK, in 1961, the government in Britain appointed a committee to look into the state of education in Britain. It was led by Lord Robbins, and after a two year study, the committee presented the Robbins Report (TNA, 1963) which contained three theses: 1) Higher education courses should be available to anyone who wants to attend, 2) Existing institutions should be expanded and new ones should be created; and that some Colleges of Advanced Technology, Teacher Training Colleges and Regional Technical Colleges should be granted University status, and 3) All of these institutions should be self-governing and financed with limited government control and accountability to Parliament.

The report noted that the United States and Western Europe had a much higher proportion of people attending higher education and that there was an expansion taking place – and that Britain needed to also expand in order to keep pace (TNA, 1963). “The effects of the report,” according to the first Vice-Chancellor of the Open University, Walter Perry, “were profound” (Perry, 1976). The increase in university sizes and numbers was substantial for the traditional undergraduate population in the years that followed, however, for adult learners (non-traditional, part-time), there was little, if any new opportunity. There were courses available for adults, but most were attended by middle-class adults who already had higher education experience – and who were not pursuing a degree. Even vocational courses were attended mostly by middle class students. Perry (1976, pp. 1-2) notes that Jennie Lee, who would play a major role in the political work that led up to the founding of the Open University, described adult

education in Britain as “the patch on the backside of our educational trousers.” Adult educators in the United States have struggled with this same perception issue since the early 1900s (Thompson, 1996).

The Robbins Report, however, created awareness throughout the nation and gave momentum to the concept of extending opportunities to adults. Eventually one of the products of this momentum resulted in the founding of the Open University. Perry believed that there were also two other trends: 1) the birth and evolution of the BBC and associated educational broadcasting, and 2) the growing concerns over elitism and the effect of social background on future educational and economic opportunity. The social and economic impact was addressed in Britain’s 1959 Crowther report, which reported that many of the top 15-16 year olds were dropping out of school. Then in 1962, another report which was commissioned by the Labour Party indicated that low socio-economic groups did not have adequate access to education. It was in this report that “The University of the Air” was proposed and that Channel 4 of the BBC should be used for higher education. This idea had also been proposed by J. C. Stobart in 1926 at the BBC, and yet again 20 years later by Sir George Catlin.

Harold Wilson, who became Leader of the Labour Party after the sudden death of his rival Hugh Gaitskill, reported sketching out ideas for the *University of the Air* after church on Easter Sunday of 1963. There is also evidence that Wilson was handed a pamphlet that described “University of the Air” ideas that originated with Mr. J. C. Stobart of the BBC in 1926 and with Sir George Catlin in 1948 (MacArthur, 1974).

Nonetheless, in 1963, in a major speech which began Harold Wilson’s pre-election campaign for the Scottish Labour Party, he told the capacity crowd that his party was planning a nation-wide correspondence program and a *University of the Air* (Hollis, 1997; MacArthur, 1974; Perry, 1976; H. Wilson, 1976). MacArthur (1974, p. 5) notes that Wilson “knew his speech would not be reported outside Scotland if he concentrated solely on Scottish affairs,” and the strategy of

mentioning the University of the Air did get him attention in the mainstream press, as “*The Times* carried a detailed account of his speech and there was also a commentary in *The Economist*.” Educational journals were critical of the idea, however, and the idea did not get much traction after the speech within the Labour Party itself, who did not include it as part of its official policy in the October 1964 election (Hollis, 1997; Perry, 1976). Perry (1976) recounted a personal conversation in which Wilson “did not feel any need to put the matter to the Party for debate. He intended to introduce the idea into government thinking when he became Prime Minister” (p. 11). Perry (1976) also remembered Wilson telling him that he did not introduce anything having to do with the University of the Air until Jennie Lee became a part of the Department of Education and Science in 1965. Jennie Lee would prove to be the “flashpoint of the whole story,” according to Perry (p. 12). MacArthur (1974, p. 5) agrees, and said that Wilson’s decision to choose Jennie Lee

was the fateful, critical decision in the early history of the university. Mr. Wilson knew that by selecting Jennie Lee to steer it into being he had chosen a politician of steely, imperious will, coupled both with tenacity and charm, who was no respecter of protocol and who would refuse to be defeated or frustrated by the skepticism about the university which persisted not only in the Department of Education and Science but in all in the universities, among MPs, and among the community of adult educators.

Harold Wilson’s interest in distance education was partly influenced by his visits to Russia, where he learned that 60% of Russian engineers earned their degrees through a combination of correspondence and radio courses (MacArthur, 1974).

University of Chicago and Encyclopedia Britannica influence. At the time of Gaitskill’s death, Wilson was visiting as a lecturer at Chicago University as the guest of Senator William Benton, who was former Vice-President of University of Chicago (Hollis, 1997). Benton had been involved with radio and helped to develop “University of Chicago Round Table” of the air

and showed Wilson how films were being used for education. Benton also knew Robert E. Wood, chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Company from World War II, and had convinced Wood to donate the Sears-owned *Encyclopedia Britannica* to the University. Benton stayed involved with the Encyclopedia and also helped to acquire Electrical Research Products, Inc. (ERPI), from Western Electric and renamed it Encyclopedia Britannica Films (William Benton, 2009). ERPI originally developed and sold recording and sound equipment to Hollywood studios in the 1920s and early 1930s (Adams & Butler, 1999) but then moved on in 1935 to studying school curriculums and then making educational films. A Time Magazine article, written in 1944 before the purchase, noted that “ERPI, while a leader in its field, has thus far failed to electrify education” (Unknown, 1944).

Political maneuvering as the Open University idea develops. Jennie Lee would lead the way for five years through debates about the role of the BBC, financial planning and questions, structural planning, political maneuvering and criticism and praise in the press. Jennie Lee also remained steadfast that the new institution should offer university level degrees and she largely ignored the UK’s adult education community, extramural community and the Workers’ Educational Association. Walter Perry later recalled that it caused resentment within those communities towards the OUUK (Perry, 1976).

The Open University was supposed to be an independent organization that was not subject to politics, but Perry (1976, p. 30) noted that “we remained a pawn in the party political game and our future was by no means as assured as we would have liked.” Up to this point, the University was highly associated with the Labour Party, but by this time, the Conservative Party was coming into power. Because of this, Jennie Lee’s public presence declined and new alliances had to be built up with the conservatives, people like Margaret Thatcher, who was the opposing spokesperson on Education. Despite a first dinner meeting between Thatcher and Perry where the “exchanges were sharp, short and furious” – especially after Thatcher suggested that the new

University's "main activity would be to offer courses on 'hobbies'" – Thatcher became an ally and successfully argued against her own party for the OUUK survival (Perry, 1976, p. 30). With the new conservatives in power, funding was not as substantial as the Open University had originally planned, but it survived despite the change in power. (Hollis, 1997; Perry, 1976).

The name of the new institution eventually changed from University of the Air to Open University and a Royal Charter for the Open University was granted on April 23, 1969 (Hollis, 1997; Perry, 1976; Stabler, 1986; Tunstall, 1974). Aside from the political maneuvering that took place between the time the Royal Charter was issued in April of 1969 and when the first courses were offered two years later, there was an enormous amount of administrative and academic work and preparation that needed to be accomplished in order to take the new Open University from a plan on paper to fruition.

The OUUK Planning Committee seeks Wedemeyer's consult. In January of 1967, Wedemeyer received a letter from D. V. Stafford, who was then working out of the OUUK office at 38 Belgrave Square in London. Stafford was the Secretary of the Open University Planning Committee and had heard of Wedemeyer through Frank Jessup of Oxford University, who had informed Stafford that Wedemeyer and the University of Wisconsin had "carried out extensive work in the field of off-campus courses based on correspondence, radio, television and face-to-face teaching" and he had also heard that Wedemeyer had just completed a "tour as Adviser on correspondence teaching" (Stafford, 1967). Stafford (1967) included a copy of *A University of the Air* (Secretary, 1966). asked Wedemeyer if he

would be good enough to let me have as much information as possible about the experience of your University in this particular field and about your own work. I appreciate that this may seem like an invitation to write a book for us rather than a letter, but I am sure that the Committee would find a condensed version of your experience of the utmost value.

Wedemeyer (1968a) wrote back to Stafford and informed him that while he was at Oxford as the Kellogg Fellow in 1965, he had indeed met with “a number of people then working on the “University of the Air” scheme, including Christopher Chataway and some other members of Parliament.

While in England, as a Kellogg Fellow, Wedemeyer lectured about independent learning and told people about the AIM program at Oxford and eight other Universities. As he mentioned in his letter to Stafford, he also met with Christopher Chataway, M.P., and others, on the Education Committee in Parliament concerning the development of a supplementary/complementary higher education program” (Wedemeyer, 1971b). According to Wedemeyer (1971b), the AIM concept was “a factor in the decision to develop a University relying on “articulated” media, rather than a single medium, (basically radio-TV-correspondence, rather [than] ETV as originally proposed.

Wedemeyer (1971b) told Stafford, “The concept of the University of the Air is very close to a project which I originated here in 1964: The Articulated Instructional Media Program” and “the experience that we have had in struggling to go from concept to reality and operations would, I think, be useful to you and your colleagues in trying to flesh-out the concepts of the Open University.”

From Concept to Reality (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969), which was a reflection on the AIM program, and would be valuable to the OUUK planners, was scheduled to be published in the fall, but Wedemeyer offered to ask his publisher if he might release parts of it, in confidence, to the Open University Planning Committee if they thought that it would be useful. He also referred Stafford to *Teaching and Television* (Wedemeyer, 1967a), which had been published two years earlier. Wedemeyer also offered his report on UNISA, which he had recently completed, with particular sections for him to review. Wedemeyer (1971b) related to Stafford,

I am very much impressed with the White Paper on the University of the Air. While there will be many barriers to the accomplishment of the aims set forth in the White Paper, I can applaud your government in conceptualizing so imaginative a solution to society's vastly increased need for a system of education that operates openly through the modern media now available. In establishing the AIM experiment here, we were attempting to do a very similar thing for the State of Wisconsin.

The AIM program, which at the time of this correspondence was being phased out and absorbed into the operating units at the University of Wisconsin, did share almost every characteristic, and Wedemeyer had the hindsight at that point to see what the OUUK planners were facing.

The University of the Air plan was meant to provide a quality education on par with any other educational institution to anyone who enrolled. Correspondence courses could incorporate television and radio that was enhanced by residential courses and tutorials. It would also take advantage of courses that were already available in existing colleges and universities. It would have its own administrative center. It would also have regional centres and the hope was that other agencies such as W.E.A. and other Extra-mural departments would help with course design. There would also be production facilities that were run by the central administrative component. Tutors would also be employed to provide student support. Research was also to be a component of the University of the Air plan. It would also allow students to obtain intermediate qualifications that could designate that a student had completed part of a course. The systems approach that was being conceptualized in this plan also would have included cooperation between content and media experts in designing courses. The University of the Air plan proposed that in the early stages, degrees might have to be administered by existing universities or a consortium of universities (Secretary, 1966; Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969).

The system components described above from the University of the Air proposal had been built into the AIM program at the University of Wisconsin when it began. One difference was that AIM did not have its own production facilities and this posed a major challenge and disappointment when it came to quality control and efficiency. The purpose of AIM, though, was to develop a cooperative model within the university, so the decision was made when AIM began not to set up their own production facilities. Wedemeyer's experience with AIM and the lessons learned had also impressed upon him the importance of organizational autonomy in finances and awarding of credits and degrees, which the University of the Air, which became the OUUK, incorporated. Perry (1976) credited the OUUK with the innovation of the "course team" which was made up of an academic, the media experts (radio and TV) and the educational technologist; however, Wedemeyer, in his reflections on AIM discussed the challenges that subject matter specialists, design team members and systems analysts had in developing courses in Wisconsin years before the OUUK (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969). Sir John Daniel, who was Vice-Chancellor of the OUUK from 1990-2001, noted that course teams at the OUUK evolved into as many as 30 members (Daniel & Mackintosh, 2003).

Near the time of Stafford's inquiry, Wedemeyer also received a letter from Walter James, who had just become the Director of Studies of the OUUK. James told Wedemeyer that their conversations in 1965 at Nottingham had shaped the ideas that he was going to implement at the new OUUK and he asked Wedemeyer for additional help in getting the Studies division up and running. Wedemeyer (1969e) wrote back to Walter James and told him that he would "help in any possible way." He suggested that James should contact Dr. Holmberg in Sweden and go to see Hermods, which had been established in 1898 and was one of the oldest correspondence schools in the world. He also suggested that James should visit Leidsche Oudervijisinstellingen in Leiden, Holland so that he could talk to I. J. Sloos and his son Robert. Wedemeyer invited James to come to Wisconsin as well, and talked about setting up a meeting for him with Gayle Childs of

University of Nebraska and Dr. John Davies of the University of Iowa (Wedemeyer, 1969e).

Wedemeyer also sent James the following materials:

1. Chart, Phases in the Application of Media and Technology to Instruction
(Wedemeyer, 1968b)
2. Brandenburg Memorial Essays – II (Wedemeyer, 1966f)
3. Problems in Learning by Correspondence (Wedemeyer, 1962c)
4. New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study (Wedemeyer & Childs, 1961)
5. Excerpts from a manual related to the Venezuelan project that Wedemeyer worked on

Additionally, Wedemeyer suggested that James should write and ask for a copy of the UNISA report that he had written, but also told him that Anastasios Christodoulou (the Secretary Designate of the OUUK) also had a copy that he might use. He specifically referred to a chart and a discussion of organization for the use of media” on page 52 of the report.

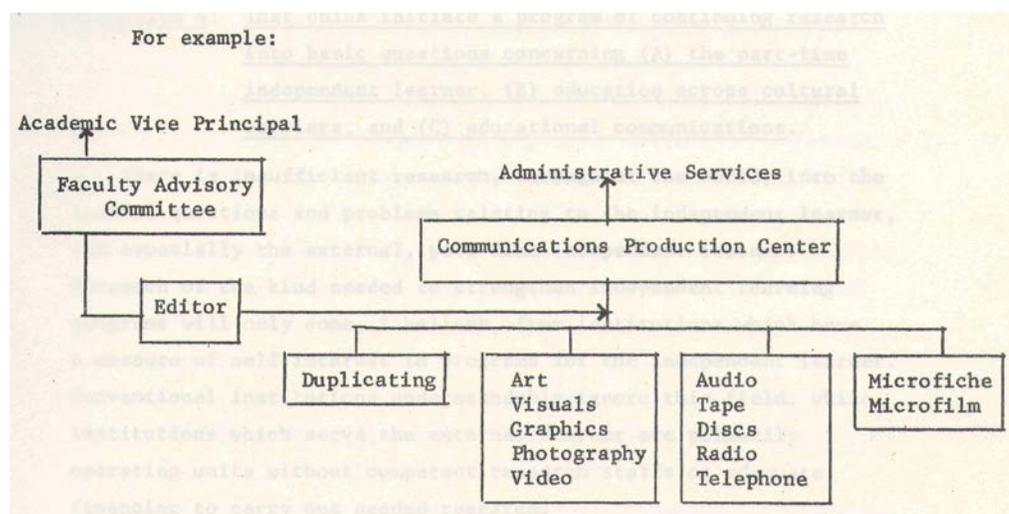


Figure 1. UNISA organizational chart. Source: (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 15)

The discussion that Wedemeyer referred to went into detail but highlighted the following recommendations:

1. Reduce unskilled hand labor where possible. For example, purchase equipment to do collating of paper
2. Set up an in-service training program for duplicating technicians
3. Set up quality control procedures
4. Designate a keen learner and performer among the technicians and allow this person to train, look for creative ways to improve service, work with faculty, and to keep up with new technologies
5. Switch to paper negatives which after use can be destroyed
6. Appoint an editor (on the academic side) to design high quality publications
7. Create a single dedicated production facility
8. Establish a faculty Advisory Committee to develop policy and to handle disputes

These recommendations were subsections in the third main recommendations that Wedemeyer made for UNISA, under the heading *That UNISA improve and modernize the design and production of its teaching publications* (Wedemeyer, 1968b, pp. 49-52).

Mr. Anastasinos Christodoulou, the Secretary Designate of the Open University Planning Committee also contacted Wedemeyer in April and the two arranged for Wedemeyer to meet with he and Walter Perry in May of 1969 to discuss final plans for Wedemeyer to take two or three months to consult at the new campus at Milton Keynes. Wedemeyer also suggested that Walter James and others from the OUUK should attend the Paris ICCE meeting that was happening in May of that year (Wedemeyer, 1969b).

Walter Perry, the new Vice-Chancellor of the OUUK, invited Wedemeyer to stay with him at Swan Cottage, and Wedemeyer and his wife arrived at Milton Keynes in the fall of 1969 and did stay with Walter Perry throughout the months that he consulted.

Wedemeyer consults at The Open University as it moves to Milton Keynes and prepares for opening day. In October of 1969, The Open University moved its offices from Belgrave Square in London to Milton Keynes where renovations were still underway. There was a need for a great number of people to provide assistance for the many tasks: from building renovations and construction of new buildings to course design to faculty and administrative recruitment and training and more (Perry, 1976; Stabler, 1986; Tunstall, 1974). One of the key people to arrive at Milton Keynes to work on the Open University that fall during this critical phase was Charles Wedemeyer.

During his two months at the OUUK, Wedemeyer lived at Swan Cottage and worked with Perry, along with teams of academic and media specialists in the development of mediated instructional materials, and with administrative and supportive services personnel. Wedemeyer also gave weekly lectures to the faculty on theory and media instructional processes, conducted faculty development seminars, participated in a seminar for BBC producers and directors in London, worked on various other teams, and consulted individually with many OU-BBC people. He also worked to establish relationships with extra mural-adult education professionals in other institutions on behalf of the Open University (Wedemeyer, 1969a, 1971b).

Wedemeyer returned home to the United States in mid-December and carried on correspondence with the OUUK planners throughout 1970. The OUUK opened its doors in 1971 and Wedemeyer returned to London in 1972. He interviewed Walter Perry and Walter James about the early days of the OUUK during a television broadcast of *Conversations* (Conversations, 1972). It would be four years until Wedemeyer was officially recognized by the OUUK, when he received an honorary doctorate.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of some of the movements that led to the evolution of open and distance education, and it has also focused on some of the major projects

that illustrate Wedemeyer's leadership and contributions. Open education and distance education has its roots in the adult education movements that began in the 1800s in the United Kingdom and since then, democratization of education has been driven by social and political movements that are also related to rights of the individual. Distance education has provided an innovative means for non-traditional adult learners to participate in the learning process with the aid of mediating technologies.

This chapter provides an examination of Wedemeyer's role in the evolution of the field of open and distance education, and of particular importance is that Wedemeyer played a valuable role in the development of the OUUK. It is clear that there are other individuals and distance education systems that played a part in the evolution of the OUUK; however it is also clear that the concept of the AIM program, the lessons learned, and Wedemeyer's work influenced key founders at the OUUK. Further details of Wedemeyer's role at the OUUK and in the evolution of open and distance education follow in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3

Theory and Scholarship

Aside from surveys of the field, little research regarding correspondence education was conducted until the 1970s, and historical accounts of higher education have given little attention to Extension and to distance education (Black, 2004; Pittman, 1990b). Additionally, as in the field of Adult Education, early scholarship tended to be more descriptive than reflective, with a trend towards increasing analysis as the fields professionalized and matured (Pittman, 1990b, 2003b; A. L. Wilson & Hayes, 2000). During Wedemeyer's decades of leadership roles in the field of adult and correspondence education, he played an important role in contributing to the development of theory and scholarship, and he encouraged colleagues to do the same.

Wedemeyer developed a theory of Independent Study, conducted research on a range of topics, and was published in conference proceedings, journals and books. He also provided leadership and served as Editor of publications that provided colleagues around the world with opportunities to publish their own work in important publications.

Wedemeyer is credited with at least 139 publications and was a leader in the establishment of research and scholarship in the new field. In the 1960s, Wedemeyer said that there was "a need for a correspondence instruction journal to help workers in the field identify with others in the field as well as to develop and maintain a competency in the field," but at the time, he was "pessimistic that a correspondence instruction journal could be supported in the U.S." (Wedemeyer, 1969c). Indeed, it would be almost 20 years before *The American Journal of Distance Education* would be established in the United States; however, Wedemeyer's publications provided a cornerstone for the OUUK, UNISA, The University of Wisconsin, and countless other organizations around the world.

In his writing, Wedemeyer also predicted that future teachers would be primarily content experts who would be supported by course teams, with specialists who were trained in systems design, coordination, media, and methods. Working together, they would produce courses that were part of a full curriculum. He also developed a theory of Independent Study in the early 1970s and continued to present his ideas throughout the rest of his career and well into his retirement years. His book, *Learning at the Back Door: Reflections of Non-Traditional Learning in the Lifespan*, is a “what-to-do and why-to-do-it book” that is a culmination of what he had learned about non-traditional learning over the years (Wedemeyer, 1981, p. xxiii).

The following sections focus on Wedemeyer’s contributions to theory and scholarship. First, a content analysis of his publications reveals trends in his work throughout his career. Next, as an example of Wedemeyer’s call for research in the field, a challenge to his colleagues at NUEA is highlighted. An overview of *Learning at the Back Door: Reflections of Non-Traditional Learning in the Lifespan* (Wedemeyer, 1981, p. xxiii) is followed by further discussion of his contributions to a theory of Independent Learning. Finally, a correspondence string between Wedemeyer and Desmond Keegan provides a concrete example of how marginalization of Wedemeyer’s (and others) influence in the history of the field occurred.

Trends in Wedemeyer’s Scholarship

The following chart illustrates the basic trend in number of writings Wedemeyer had published over the course of his career. This illustrates a total of 139 publications over the course of Wedemeyer’s career, beginning with his first publication in 1939 and ending in 1987.

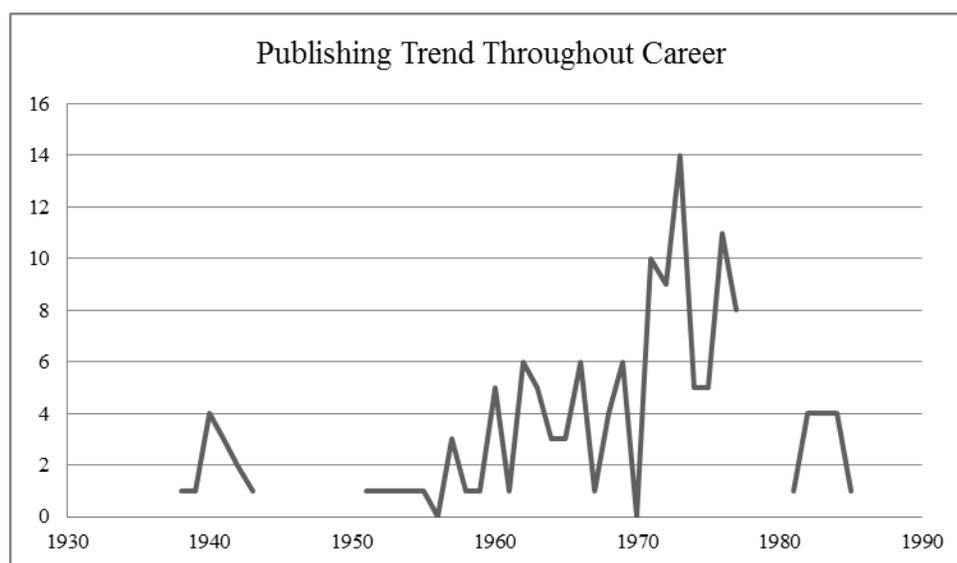


Figure 2. Publishing trend throughout Wedemeyer's career 1930s - 1980s.

In the above chart, one can see a general overall increase in the number of publications throughout the decades in Wedemeyer's career and then a waning in the number after his retirement in 1976. In the late 1930s through the 1950s, he produced an average of one or two published works per year. In the 1960s, the number of published works rises to three to six publications per year, and in the 1970s, there is marked increase to as many as 14 in one year, for an average of about six per year. After his retirement, in the 1980s he averaged two per year with as many as four in a given year.

Wedemeyer's first two publications in the 1930s were related to his work as a High School teacher in the Milwaukee schools. One was related to his role on the curriculum committee and another with his role working with the journalism department.

Beginning in 1939 and for the next four years, his published work largely focused on English and Reading via correspondence study. His work with University of Wisconsin's Professor Pooley on their radio show focused on reading, and resulted in six publications. He also produced book reviews for the *English Journal*, which was associated with the National Council

of Teachers of English. Wedemeyer was also the Editor for *Reading Today* and oversaw the publication of a series of anthologies for 7th, 8th and 9th grades.

In the mid-1940s during his career with the Navy, he wrote two classified books, *Mineman I* and *Mineman II*. He was also the Editor for several books that were used for Naval warfare training.

After World War II was over and he became Director of the Racine Extension Center at the University of Wisconsin, his focus shifted again. College students (such as the non-traditional and adult learners at Racine) became his focus, and he carried out several research projects that examined success in college composition, morale, opportunities for adult learners, gifted achievers and non-achievers, and adult education agencies.

In the mid-1950s, one can see that Wedemeyer's new position as Director of Correspondence Study influenced the topics that he wrote about. In 1955, Wedemeyer was the editor and wrote the forward for *Experiments in Correspondence Study*, which was written by Harold Montross. In 1957, as noted earlier, Wedemeyer's research study *The Teaching of Superior Children by Correspondence Study* (Wedemeyer, 1957b) appeared in the ICCE conference proceedings. An example of Wedemeyer's continued research is a 1959 collaboration with Bernard James of the University of Chicago which was entitled, "Completion of University Correspondence Courses by Adults" which was published in the *Journal of Higher Education* (Wedemeyer & James, 1959).

In the 1960s Wedemeyer's focus remained mainly on correspondence study and there were 20 articles that had a focus on practice; many related to the use of technology in correspondence study, including audio, video, television, and satellites.

The topic of individual students and articulating programs to serve student needs arises in the early 1960s. This corresponds with Wedemeyer's new role as the Director of the AIM program. Wedemeyer began to look outward to Europe and to South America, as well as to

programs in the United States, surveying the field, producing comparative studies of other correspondence programs and systems. *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study* (Wedemeyer & Childs, 1961), which was also translated into German and Spanish, is a notable publication that provides a historical description of the field at the time (Pittman, 2003b).

Twenty-one of the publications during the 1960s pertain to what a survey of some area of the field. The 1960s also saw the publication of the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays I and II*, which have been mentioned and will be addressed in the next section.

In 1969, *AIM: From Concept to Reality* was published. This publication described and analyzed the AIM program which ran from 1964 to 1968 at the University of Wisconsin.

Two years prior, in 1967, Wedemeyer was named the William H. Lighty Professor of Education. One of the outcomes of this position was that he was freed up from his administrative and academic responsibilities so that he could conduct more research and scholarly work. In the waning years of 1960s Wedemeyer was busy with the end of the AIM program and his consultation at the OUUK. He was also serving as President of ICCE from 1969 to 1972. The Governor's Commission on Education and his work with the Kellett Commission was also coming to a close.

As these projects and responsibilities slowed and ended in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the number of Wedemeyer's publications rose. Wedemeyer's interest in technology and in comparative research is still evident, but there is now more of a focus on open education and also on the independent learner and the idea of independent learning.

Wedemeyer had just spent a decade working on projects such as the Venezuela program, the AIM program, the Open School in Wisconsin, and the OUUK. The success of the OUUK and his belief in the potential of open learning systems led to his work on publications that examined not only the practice and methods of open education systems, but also examined the philosophy behind the concept of open education.

Wedemeyer was also an historian. Many of his writings contain references to historical events or to historical references that provide foundational educational information. His writing also often provides insights into his philosophy of education.

Wedemeyer and the Beginnings of Scholarship in Distance Education: *The Brandenburg Memorial Essays*

The Brandenburg Foundation was established in the will of Frederick S. Brandenburg, who believed that correspondence education was a means of instruction that was beneficial to citizens of “underdeveloped” nations. The University Extension at Wisconsin received a grant of \$800 in October 1961 and then another \$800 in February 1963 from Brandenburg. These grants allowed Extension to hold what were known as the Brandenburg Seminars. With Wedemeyer serving as Editor, *The Brandenburg Memorial Essays, Volumes I and II* (Wedemeyer, 1963c, 1966f), were published following these seminars. Before this, there had been limited surveys of the field, but little “scholarship in the sense of sustained, growing body of knowledge generating theory through systematic research” (Black, 2007, p. 3).

The presentations themselves, as well as what sometimes were follow-up writings by leaders in the field of correspondence education from these seminars were included in the publications. The agreement with the Brandenburg Foundation was that free copies of the publications would be distributed to professionals in correspondence education around the world. In October 1963, Wedemeyer sent copies of *Memorial Essays I* to colleagues around the world. In 1965, *Memorial Essays II* went to the printer in December, and in addition to persons on his list of international colleagues, Wedemeyer also sent 25 copies to United States Armed Forces Europe (USAFE) members.

Essays in the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays II* were written by Dr. Homer Kempfer, Harold Wiltshire, Dr. Fred Bayless of England, Prof. Pedro Bestase of Venezuela, and Dr. Börje Holmberg of Sweden. The purpose of correspondence education, the role of the correspondence

instructor, and the weakness and advantages of the correspondence method were addressed by Ripley Sims, Prof. Margaret Knowles, and Prof. George Hartung. Professors Lambert and Koenig, along with Clarence Schonfeld looked at correspondence education techniques, and Dean Clark and Gayle Childs examined the evaluation of correspondence education and findings of research.

In *Brandenburg Memorial Essays on Correspondence Study II*, Wedemeyer adapted his June 1965 keynote address from the International Council on Correspondence Education's Seventh Conference (ICCE, 1965) that took place in Sweden. His article, entitled "World Trends In Correspondence Education" (Wedemeyer, 1966e) was based on a survey of correspondence study from over 100 educators across the globe. He identified five trends in correspondence education: improved acceptance, recognition, and accreditation of correspondence education; vigorous growth in correspondence education through the offering of new subject matters, two new client groups, on new levels, with the help of new allies in sponsoring correspondence education towards new purposes; continued improvement in the quality of correspondence education; the methodology of correspondence instruction was undergoing change; and growth in research and experimentation in correspondence education. Throughout this article, Wedemeyer provided examples from various countries about each trends, but the overriding theme was that correspondence education provides worldwide opportunities for nontraditional learners and democratizes education – and that institutions should use a systems approach and an articulated instructional media approach.

Wedemeyer (1966f, p. 14) also stressed that

The human factors, I believe, are more important in making progress with articulated or systems courses than are the technological. The technology is many years ahead of suitable application in education now; and the chief reason for this lag is human: teachers do not readily accept technology into their courses because they feel threatened by it.

They feel threatened because they do not perceive their role in a new kind of educational process. I do not believe that systems type courses will succeed unless teachers do feel comfortable with them and enjoy the new role that courses designed in this way make possible. There is also a great fear that technology will “dehumanize” teaching and learning. With poorly done courses, this fear is grounded. There will have to be a strong and consistent emphasis on excellence and quality in course design and development, and the place of the teacher in the system will have to be carefully explored and supported so that he does feel comfortable with, and gain satisfaction from, his new role.

Wedemeyer also wrote the last article in the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays II* publication. In “Extension Education and Its Tools in the Next Half Century,” Wedemeyer (1966f, p. 142) asked "what will the University extension look like in 50 years?" and considered “the changes that may come about the extension teacher, student, the curriculum, and the tools used by extension in 2015.” In this work, Wedemeyer looked at the characteristics of the teacher, the student, and the courses that would be taught in extension over the next 50 years.

He predicted that the future Extension teacher would be better trained and more versatile than the teacher of the 1960s, and that he/she would be specifically trained for teaching at a distance and in non-traditional methods. The teacher would be able to use a variety of media and methods and would be supported by specialists who were trained in systems design, coordination, media, and methods. Working together, they would produce courses that were part of a full curriculum. Wedemeyer (1966f, p. 145) predicted that extension curricula would not be bound by institution but would “have regional or even national acceptability and validity.” Teachers would be primarily content specialists who would spend more time on materials which created a teacher "presence." There would be a need for interdisciplinary teams that created courses in order to meet the needs of the adult learner. Wedemeyer (1966f, p. 147) predicted that extension teachers would have less to do with teaching of credit/degree oriented courses in that degree courses

would be available anytime and anywhere “using the same system of team design, development and production of courses; but the credit/degree courses would be taught directly by the degree teachers to students both on and off campus using the same process, media and methods.”

Extension teachers would be involved in courses that range from beginning college level to well beyond the baccalaureate level and adults, because of the new society and the need for lifelong learning, would continue studies later into life. The "extension student of the future," according to Wedemeyer (1966f, pp. 148-149), would

probably not ‘attend’ classes; rather, the opportunities and processes of learning will come to him. He will learn at home, at the office, on the job, in the factory, store, or sales room, or on the farm. Continued learning will indeed become, for many, part of the job which they are employed to perform.

Wedemeyer (1966f, pp. 148-149) believed that the extension student of 2015 would be more accustomed to learning independently, would be better versed in the use of media, and “could accommodate periods of guided self-study, tutorial learning, group learning, residential study library work.”

While most of these predictions came to be, Wedemeyer also presented the overly optimistic view that adults would be working less hours by 2015 due to automation in an increase in the available workforce. This would leave them with more free time so that they could attend residential centers and would be “involved in truly liberal learning – learning for its own sake, learning for the occupation of time, learning for self perfection and self satisfaction” (Wedemeyer, 1966f, p. 149).

He predicted that fewer subjects would be studied for strictly economic reasons, freedom of individual choice would be greater, and prestige will attach not alone to curricula which lead to the most remunerative occupations or professions, but also to the areas which offer the greatest challenge and freedom for self

development and expression. Since men will gradually be free from the necessity of working continuously throughout their lives, they will turn in greater numbers to the subjects which presently can attract their major adherence only among women – art, literature, music, social issues, philosophy, etc. (Wedemeyer, 1966f, p. 150).

Wedemeyer (1966f, p. 150) believed that this would "enable society to benefit from a citizenry that includes large numbers of rather highly educated though nonprofessional specialists in many areas" including "travel and comparative geography, culture and architecture, space exploration interplanetary logistics, the cultivation of the seas, theories of work and non-work, self-realization through self-expression, the economics of a society of abundance, and many others." "Limitations," Wedemeyer (1966f, p. 150) said, "of the content offered by extension will only be those imposed by lack of interest, creativity, imagination."

Courses and curricula would be much more diverse in 2015, Wedemeyer predicted, but collegiate degree programs would be more restrictive, and would be taught primarily by residents and faculties. The role of extension would be to "administer the counseling, selection, and registration of students" (Wedemeyer, 1966f, p. 150).

The future of Extension, according to Wedemeyer, rested more with "the attitudes and mindsets of the human beings who create, teach, and learn from extension than with the emerging technologies themselves. He stressed that if people learn to approach technology in a positive manner using a systems approach, that programmed instruction had "possibilities of adaptation to individual differences, permits a student – determined rate of progress, has continuity of the availability, and enable students to start and finish at any time" (Wedemeyer, 1966f, p. 150). He also outlined the disadvantages of instruction using media such as radio, telephone, and television, noting that synchronous and scheduled activities, cost, technical maintenance, and availability were limiting factors (Wedemeyer, 1966f, p. 152). He did predict however, that new devices being developed would allow people to learn from their homes and places of employment

and to participate in courses that were delivered on their own schedules. Technologies would include videotape techniques, 33 1/3 RPM disks that delivered sound and visuals to a television set, and images delivered via telephone. Computers too, would allow a student to communicate, search libraries and trigger the delivery of books and materials, attend laboratory sessions at regional campus centers, and receive programmed articulated media courses – allowing them to study at their own pace and convenience.

Whole instructional systems would allow people from all over the country to have the opportunity to learn – and he also predicted that "no person in the world" would "any longer be remote from opportunity for learning, whether his motives for study the economic, recreational, cultural" (Wedemeyer, 1966f, p. 153). It is clear from Wedemeyer's utopian predictions that he believed that technology could be used to improve the human condition, and he had great hopes for the use of technology in conjunction with educational delivery systems.

The *Brandenburg Memorial Essays on Correspondence Study* were foundational publications in the emerging research in the field (Gibson, et al., 2009; Keegan, 1996; Watkins & Wright, 1991), and Wedemeyer's contributions show that he was not only knowledgeable and had expertise in the field but that he was also a person who had remarkable foresight, as Holmberg, Moore and Peters asserted decades later (Black, 2004).

Wedemeyer's Relationship with Three Early Theorists

Among the thousands of people that Wedemeyer corresponded and interacted with during his career were three individuals who have made major contributions to theory and scholarship in field of distance education: Börje Holmberg, Michael G. Moore, and Otto Peters. Holmberg, Moore, and Peters are widely recognized as prominent figures who developed influential theories in the field of distance education, and Black (2004) has established that they all recognize that Wedemeyer not only influenced their work, but that he was a major influence on the field of distance education. Wedemeyer's influence on the field of open and distance education was

reflected in his relationships with Holmberg, Moore, and Peters, and the following in-depth look at the those relationships contributes to an understanding of that influence.

In the 1960s, Wedemeyer became acquainted with Börje Holmberg of Sweden and with Otto Peters, of Germany. Holmberg and Peters were involved in correspondence education in their respective countries. Holmberg became the Educational Director of Hermods of Sweden (then the largest correspondence organization in Europe) in 1956, two years after Wedemeyer had begun his work as the Director of Correspondence Study at the University of Wisconsin (FernUniversität, 2010a). Holmberg and Wedemeyer were simultaneously running correspondence programs that were serving tens of thousands of students.

Otto Peters began publishing works related to distance education in the early 1960s when he was the Deputy Director of the Department for the Methodology of Teaching. By 1960 he had moved over to the German Institute for the University of Tübingen where he focused on comparative education, and in 1972 he wrote his dissertation on the topic of distance education. In 1974 he became a Professor of Education at FernUniversität, which served over 50,000 students in Germany (FernUniversität, 2010b).

Michael G. Moore began his work in adult and distance education in Kenya where he worked with radio and television under guidance of the University of Nottingham. It was in Kenya, in the late 1960s, that he became acquainted with Wedemeyer's work through Art Krival, who was visiting from the University of Wisconsin. Moore left Kenya to study as Wedemeyer's advisee during the early 1970s at the University of Wisconsin, and thereafter became a faculty member at St. Xavier University in Canada. Moore also worked at the OUUK for almost a decade, and then became a faculty member at The Pennsylvania State University in the 1980s. Among other accomplishments in his career, he established the American Center for the Study of Distance Education (ACSDE), *The American Journal of Distance Education*, established the first

sequence of graduate courses in distance education, and established DEOS, an international listserv for distance educators (PSU, 2010).

The following sections provide insights into Wedemeyer's relationships with Holmberg, Moore and Peters. Based primarily on correspondence, each section focuses on the early periods of introduction and on significant events. While this is not a comprehensive history of these relationships, the focus provides supporting evidence to Black's (2004) work and further illustrates Wedemeyer's influence in the careers of these scholars (and of their influence on him). This framework also provides insight into some of the relationships and the sharing of ideas and collaboration that influenced the evolution and practice of distance education. The relationships with Holmberg and Peters also provide insights into Wedemeyer's leadership in developing an international network in the early days of the field of open and distance education.

Wedemeyer and Börje Holmberg. On May 8, in preparation for his trip to Europe in the summer of 1961, Wedemeyer wrote to Gunnar Gadden, Director of Hermods Kerrespondensintitut in Sweden. In his letter to Gadden, Wedemeyer had introduced himself and outlined his trip itinerary and requested a visit on August 17, 1961. He also included a questionnaire related to Hermods and included the book *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study* (Wedemeyer & Childs, 1961). Gadden replied on May 19 and told Wedemeyer that he and his family would be welcome and suggested that they have lunch with Malmo Rotarians as well.

Wedemeyer in turn replied on June 1, telling Gadden, "I feel that I know something about Hermods already, as I have just finished reading the article in Home Study Review (Spring, 1961) by your educational director, Dr. Börje Holmberg" (Wedemeyer, 1961a). Two days earlier, Wedemeyer sent his first letter to Holmberg, saying that

I have read with great interest your article in the Home Study Review (Spring, 1961) entitled "On the methods of Teaching by Correspondence." The information is of great

help to me as I prepare to visit the major correspondence schools of Europe. It is my plan to visit Hermods on August 17th, on the kind invitation of Director Gunnar Gadden. I look forward to learning more about Hermods on my visit. Enclosed for you is a small book describing correspondence instruction in American universities (Wedemeyer, 1961b).

Holmberg replied with his first letter to Wedemeyer on June 10, 1961, thanking him for the book *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study* (Wedemeyer & Childs, 1961) and telling him that he would look forward to meeting him in August (Holmberg, 1963).

In September, Holmberg (1961) wrote back to Wedemeyer and told him,

I am now sending the material we discussed you visited us in August. We are very glad to get this opportunity to discuss problems of common interest to us, and we hope to get in touch with you on later occasions too. ... I have now more carefully read the paper that you publish together with Prof. Childs, *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study*. Your international program of correspondence studies seems very valuable, and what you say about correspondence study itself – discipline is very interesting indeed. On the whole your paper covers a number of important points in correspondence tuition. The chapter on correspondence study and individualization is but the description of facts and challenging reading for those working in this field. If there is anything more you would like to know about our work, please write to me, and I will do my best to answer your questions.

In the letter, Holmberg (1961) included course materials from Hermods of Sweden and explained to Wedemeyer that courses in the Hermods program were called “letters” and that students received new letters once they had sent in “their solutions for corrections; the bound set of letters is never sent to them until they have sent us all the solutions to tasks in the various lessons in their course.” He also informed Wedemeyer that Hermods had published a monthly

newsletter called *Korrespondens* since 1901, and that he had included the 1960 volumes for Wedemeyer's inspection.

On May 20, 1963, and again in early June, Holmberg (1963) wrote to Wedemeyer and expressed interest in visiting the University of Wisconsin so that he could meet with members of the department. Holmberg had planned his itinerary in the United States with the assistance of Dr. Allen (Famous Artists School) and Dr. Estabrooke (American School) and it included lectures at Upsala College in New Jersey from June 20-July 18, a visit with Dr. Lockmiller of the National Home Study Council in Washington, D.C., a visit to the American School, La Salle Extension University and the Industrial Training Institute in Chicago, the Hadly School for the Blind, and then visits at the University of Wisconsin and University of Nebraska (between July 29 and August 2). Wedemeyer responded positively to a visit in Madison and also invited Holmberg to join the Wedemeyer family at an informal family reunion upstate in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Wedemeyer also offered to make hotel reservations and to pick up Holmberg upon his arrival from Chicago. On July 25, Holmberg wrote to "Professor Wedemeyer" and confirmed his plans for the Madison visit.

Holmberg arrived in Madison on July 27 and the following day Holmberg accompanied Wedemeyer and his family on a 200 mile round-trip drive from Madison to Sheboygan (a city which is located on the shores of Lake Michigan) to attend a family reunion. A few days later, on the next part of his United States visit at the University of Nebraska's Center for Continuing Education, Holmberg (1963) wrote:

Dear Chuck,

May I first thank you very much indeed for the very friendly reception you and your wife gave me when I visited Madison (and Sheboygan). I can't tell you how glad I am to have been received like this, not only as your colleague, but as your friend. I am looking forward to further personal contact with you.

Holmberg had been reflecting on his visit and asked Wedemeyer for additional information on examinations and teacher manuals at the University of Wisconsin. During Holmberg's visit, among the topics related to the University of Wisconsin's system and correspondence education that were discussed, they also talked about Wedemeyer's upcoming fall trip to Europe.

They continued to correspond during the rest of the summer and planned their upcoming meeting. Wedemeyer sent a photo to Holmberg of the group meeting in Wisconsin and Holmberg subsequently had it published in the *Hermods* news. They also continued to share resources. For example, Holmberg suggested that Wedemeyer review a German publication by Riechert, Johannes, *Schreiben, Lehren und Verstehen* which was published by Bergakademie Freiberg (Fernstudium) in 1959.

When school started in the Fall, Wedemeyer (1963b) shared *Hermods* materials with his colleagues Art Krival and F. L. Johnson, and asked them to forward them to Roger Schwenn "for inclusion in our collection." Wedemeyer noted that the two would "find the materials from *Hermods* very interesting, even though you may not be able to "read" them." He pointed out that they should pay close attention to the "quality of reproduction, especially the booklet on photography" and to the syllabus that used a "kind of PL format, with frames." Wedemeyer suggested that this would be a "useful and inexpensive way to set up this kind of study guide."

In early October, Wedemeyer received examples from Holmberg that included a bound set of foreign language lessons in a volume that Holmberg described as a "traditional type of *Hermods* material" and in addition, he included lessons that "illustrate newer techniques." The newer material, ("in *Engelska* for hogstadiet I and a mathematics book) was described as being one in which "every lesson is at the same time an exercise book." Holmberg noted that they were "now making more extensive use of offset printing than earlier."

Wedemeyer arrived in Copenhagen on October 20 and met with Holmberg and his colleagues at Hermods. Wedemeyer and his wife joined Dr. and Mrs. Holmberg and director Gunnar Gadden for dinner at Holmberg's home.

After the visit at Copenhagen, Wedemeyer and Holmberg continued to correspond. Holmberg shared publications and information, such as his dissertation, entitled *James Douglas on English Pronunciation*. Wedemeyer wrote to Holmberg and called his visit to Malmo the "high-point" of his "month-long journey." The two also sent each other Christmas packages and Wedemeyer sent photos to Holmberg as reminders of his visit to the United States (Wedemeyer, 1963a).

In the spring 1964, Holmberg wrote to Wedemeyer and asked for assistance with his research on English philology, in particular, on Noah Webster, the American lexicographer. Holmberg told Wedemeyer that he had decided to attend the NUEA conference in Washington D.C. and he wondered if Wedemeyer might arrange to reserve materials on Webster that were not readily available in Sweden. Holmberg also told Wedemeyer about his upcoming book on British standards of pronunciation that was to be published later in the year. Wedemeyer (1964d) subsequently asked Shirley Johnson, his assistant, for help in answering Holmberg's "bibliographical questions" and Johnson (1964) responded four days later with a list of six books on Webster, as well as three studies on Webster's influence on pronunciation. Additional assistance from George Rodman at the University of Wisconsin enabled Wedemeyer (1964c) to expand the list that he gave to Holmberg in April when they met in Washington. Holmberg relayed to Wedemeyer that he had also found the 1828 edition in the Library of Congress that Wedemeyer had told him about.

Correspondence continued over the summer. Holmberg was focused on the upcoming Correspondence Education Conference which was to be held in Malmo, Sweden, October 6-7, 1964 and Wedemeyer was planning article inclusions for the second volume of the *Brandenburg*

Memorial Essays (Wedemeyer, 1963c, 1966f). Wedemeyer invited Holmberg to contribute and suggested that he (Holmberg) might include a topic or topics that would be covered at the upcoming CEC conference. Wedemeyer told Holmberg that he would like to include writings from authors from countries other than the United States.

Wedemeyer (1964b) also told Holmberg about his recent trip to Venezuela and said that: Latin America has a culture which is quite different from that which we are familiar with here or to which we came to know in Europe. We made fine progress in Venezuela towards the establishment of a number of programs of correspondence education. You will no doubt hear more about some of these pioneer beginnings at the ICCE conference in Stockholm next year. I have encouraged several Venezuelan educators to plan to attend the conference in Stockholm. I have urged several of them to write to you during the year for information about the kinds of programs that you have found so successful at Hermods.

After the CEC Congress met in October, Holmberg wrote and expressed interest in contributing to the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays*. He also told Wedemeyer that he would look forward to June of 1965 "when I count on it that you will be one of the leading speakers at the ICCE conference in Stockholm." Wedemeyer (1965d) was pleased to hear that Holmberg had agreed to write something for the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays* and replied with publication deadlines and details of the publication process. He also informed Holmberg that he had been invited to be Oxford's first Kellogg fellow and that he would be in Oxford during April and May, would go directly to Stockholm for the ICCE, and then would visit Scandinavia before returning to Wisconsin.

The following month, Holmberg (1965) wrote and congratulated Wedemeyer on the Kellogg Fellow appointment and noted that he believed that Wedemeyer would "have something important to contribute to research in and knowledge about adult education there."

Holmberg (1965) added that:

many people in England are even more prejudiced against correspondence education than some Americans are, but now people have started to discuss introducing a combination of correspondence education and TV instruction. Newspapers have written about the University-on-the-Air scheme introduced by the Advisory Center for Education at Cambridge. It may be worthwhile getting in touch with these people, and if you feel like it you could drop a line to Mr. Brian Jackson (address: The National Extension College, 57 Russell Street, Cambridge).

Brian Jackson and Michael Young created and eventually officially founded the charity, National Extension College (NEC) in June of 1965. According to Peck (2003), “NEC was originally set up in 1963 as a pilot scheme” for OUUK and had a mission “to help people of all ages fit learning into their lives.” The “pilot” that was set up was Young’s project, not a program that was officially associated with what would eventually become the OUUK. Young had been affiliated with Harold Wilson’s Labour Party in Britain, and after Wilson gave a speech in 1962 that called for a “University of the Air” Young set up NEC to experiment with the idea of combining broadcasting with correspondence study (Tunstall, 1974; Weinbren, 2010).

Today the NEC serves over 20,000 students in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and delivers more than 100 home study courses (NEC, 2010). The 1964 description of the goal for NEC was “to help students outside the rungs of the conventional educational system to overcome the enormous difficulties they encounter if they want to go on learning” (Unknown, 1964). The NEC was “intended to develop as a fully ‘open university’,” a term that, according to this article, was “Michael Young’s.” NEC began as a residential vacation program in the summer of 1963 for economic students that provided intensive teaching in the summer in combination with correspondence education during other times. Exam scores improved significantly with the combination of face-to-face and correspondence study, and other vacation schools were added to

include mathematics and brought in other schools. NEC was also testing the use of radio and television as a supplement. Combining of television with correspondence was also being experimented with by Walter James at Nottingham University, where over 1200 students completed a thirteen week course (Weinbren, 2011).

This was similar to what Wedemeyer had developed earlier in Wisconsin with the AIM program. Wedemeyer responded to Holmberg with appreciation for his information about “changes going on in England with respect to ... correspondence education” and told him that he had been “in touch with the advisory center for education at Cambridge” and would be “working with the staff there while ... In England.” Wedemeyer had contacted Mr. Michael Young of the Advisory Centre for Education on Russell Street in Cambridge, England back in January 1965, and the two had exchanged information on their programs. Wedemeyer also had already made plans to meet Young while he was in England (Wedemeyer, 1965g; Young, 1965). Wedemeyer did meet Young in London and they shared information and ideas about their experiences with their respective programs.

In September 1967 Holmberg (1967) informed Wedemeyer that the manuscript for his book *Correspondence Education* (Börje Holmberg, 1967) was finished and that like in the U.S., “Lots of things are happening here... We are giving more and more attention to and spending more money on developing our methods and products and we have certainly learnt a lot from American research and experiences.” He added that “All over the world people talk about the multi-media project that you are in charge of in Wisconsin. I wonder if you can let me have some rather detailed information on it?” Holmberg was referring to Wedemeyer’s AIM program.

Holmberg (1967) explained that Hermods was negotiating with the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation and with the Government “about producing integrated correspondence and TV (or radio) courses, but this is a mere beginning and I understand you have reached much further.” Hermods was also considering the use of telephones in the future as well. Holmberg also asked if

Wedemeyer could arrange to get another copy of the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays Volume I*, as his had been borrowed and never returned. Holmberg's letter arrived in Wisconsin but had to be forwarded to South Africa, where Wedemeyer was working at UNISA. Wedemeyer (1967e) did respond from Africa and told Holmberg that he would try and "scrounge" a copy of the Brandenburg essays from somewhere since the volume was out of print, and he told him of an upcoming evaluation and report on the AIM program that Holmberg had referred to. He also said that Holmberg's book, *Correspondence Education* was in Africa with him – and he sent his congratulations (Wedemeyer, 1967e).

He also included a number of survey questions on recent developments in correspondence education at University of Wisconsin. Holmberg was then working on a manuscript which would update his 1960-61 survey on methods of correspondence education. In November, Wedemeyer (1966c) told Art Krival that he had "gotten down to the bottom" of his mail pile and found the September requests from Holmberg – and he asked if Krival if he could help with answering the questions so that Wedemeyer could put them into a letter for Holmberg.

Wedemeyer and Holmberg continued their correspondence throughout the rest of the next two decades. Much of the discussion centered on ICCE and CEC developments. Wedemeyer also introduced Holmberg to other international colleagues and they both used their existing networks to assist others who wrote with requests related to correspondence education.

Summary. Wedemeyer's first contact with Holmberg was in 1961 as he was preparing for a trip to study major European correspondence institutions. He had read Holmberg's "On the Methods of Teaching by Correspondence" article in the *Home Study Review* and in his initial letter to Holmberg, Wedemeyer shared *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study* (Wedemeyer & Childs, 1961). Wedemeyer and Holmberg began sharing courses and other materials over the next decade. They met in Sweden during Wedemeyer's European tour, and then Wedemeyer arranged a visit and met with Holmberg at the University of Wisconsin. They

would meet again and work together at ICCE and they carried on a consistent exchange of letters and materials throughout the 1960s.

Wedemeyer introduced Holmberg to domestic and international colleagues, helped locate research materials, and also invited him to contribute to the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays II*. Holmberg was intrigued and impressed by what he was hearing about the AIM program in Wisconsin. Wedemeyer was also impressed by the Hermods materials that Holmberg shared with him, and Wedemeyer encouraged his colleagues at University of Wisconsin to strive for the same quality.

Holmberg is well known for his theory of teaching-learning conversations that is based on the importance of “personal relations, study pleasure, and empathy between students and those representing the supporting organization” (Holmberg, 2007, p. 69). Wedemeyer’s analysis of programs such as UNISA and AIM show that Wedemeyer also believed that student support was a critical aspect for successful programs. In the following chapter on Internationalism and in the final chapter, additional focus is given to Wedemeyer and Holmberg’s relationship, and to their work together with ICCE/ICDE.

Wedemeyer and Otto Peters. Wedemeyer and Peters met in 1965 in Stockholm at Saltjobaden at the ICCE conference. That year, the conference was the best attended and most international that had been held, with over 220 participants from about 30 countries. Wedemeyer gave the keynote address, entitled, *Correspondence Education in the World of today* and he also talked on a panel about correspondence education in the developing world. At the time, Peters was the Chief Educational Adviser for the Federal Republic of Germany’s Educational Centre in Berlin (ICCE, 1965).

Like Wedemeyer, Peters was interested in surveying the world’s correspondence institutions. In March 1966, Otto Peters (1966a) sent a letter informing Wedemeyer that “Der Fernunterricht” had been published and that the publisher was forwarding a copy of it to

Madison. *Der Fernunterricht* contained “a description of correspondence instruction in 11 countries and included 520 pages, 34 statistical tables and bibliography of 721 articles and books.” With this letter was also a request to answer questions to an enclosed survey that would inform an upcoming publication called *Correspondence Instruction in Teacher Training*. On April 5 Wedemeyer (1966b) responded with congratulations on Peters' new book, telling him that he was “much impressed by the detailed and scholarly work which has gone into your book. The volume will most certainly be a substantial contribution to our knowledge of correspondence education.” He also answered Peters' survey questions, and provided information about teacher motivations as well as the use of television combined with correspondence study, radio plus correspondence instruction and small group correspondence methods. Wedemeyer included a copy of the NUEA Guide so that Peters would have a list of all of the NUEA institutions that offered correspondence to teachers as well as other groups. Last, he enclosed a copy of *Brandenburg Memorial Essays I* (Wedemeyer, 1963c) and told Peters said he would put him on the mailing list for the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays II* (Wedemeyer, 1966f).

Over the next two months Peters sent additional questions and informed Wedemeyer that he was planning a trip to the United States between October and December of that year.

In July 1966 Peters wrote to Wedemeyer and thanked him for his offer of assistance with the second volume of his writings on correspondence study. Peters described an issue that he was having with obtaining the Thomas S. Jenkins dissertation on correspondence course instruction. “It is... nearly impossible,” Peters (1966a) wrote, “to convince the people in our administration to spend 60 DM on a photocopy of it, which is obtainable at the University of Oregon, because due to the unfavorable ratio, this is an enormous amount of money for buying a dissertation.” He asked Wedemeyer if there was any possibility that his department might be able to “have this thesis xeroxed [*sic*] and sent” to him in Germany. He also asked Wedemeyer if he knew anyone who might be able to read his German version of the volume and correct any “serious

mistakes and blunders” that might be included. Peters shared his article on correspondence study in Russia and also told Wedemeyer that the copy of the *Brandenburg Essays* that Wedemeyer sent to him "were very informative and helpful." In August 1966, Wedemeyer contacted the office of independent study at Oregon State and arranged to have the Jenkins dissertation loaned to Madison for a three-month period. Oregon State gave Wedemeyer permission to forward it to Otto Peters in Germany and Wedemeyer sent the Jenkins dissertation to Peters on September 28.

Peters visits Wedemeyer at the University of Wisconsin. In the Fall of 1966, Otto Peters and three other German educators toured the United States, each visiting various educational institutions that matched their individual interests. The entire group visited New York City, Albany, Rochester, Chicago, Minneapolis, Denver, Sacramento, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Las Vegas, and Lincoln, and then Peters’ personal itinerary included Madison, Iowa City, Miami, Boca Raton, Athens, University Park, Scranton, and Washington D.C.

At the time, Germany was developing the teacher training correspondence college concept, and Peters (1966b, p. 8) noted that "German universities have no experiences in correspondence instruction at all." His aim was to meet with administrators and faculty in order to study the correspondence system that had been in place for over 50 years through University extension programs.

After a few days in Iowa City visiting with Dr. John Davies (director of instructional services), Dr. Eloise Snavely (instructional materials editor), and Dr. E. F. Lindquist of the American College Testing Program, Otto Peters traveled to Chicago and then flew into Madison, Wisconsin. On the first day of his visit Peters met with Wedemeyer, and the following day he visited USAFI. On December 1 he met with Dr. Ripley Sims who was director, Division of Instruction with USAFI, and on his final day in Wisconsin Peters’ itinerary also shows that he met with Dr. William Brothers (assistant director for Developing Correspondence Programs – Innovated Processes at the University of Wisconsin).

In January, just hours before he was to leave the United States to return to his home in Germany, Peters wrote to Wedemeyer, asking if he and his librarian might help him again to compile materials that would help him with his research efforts. Peters had tried to obtain the materials from The Pennsylvania State University but Dean Ossian "Bob" MacKenzie told Wedemeyer that he did not have them (O. Peters, 1966a).

Wedemeyer later made arrangements to have the materials made available to both The Pennsylvania State University and to Otto Peters, but because the cost for reproduction was \$200 (\$100 over Peters' budget), Peters asked if Wedemeyer to choose the most important sections. This is an illustration of how difficult it was for colleagues to exchange information and to procure resources during the 1960s (Noyola, 1967; O. Peters, 1967c).

Peters' report on his United States tour in 1966. In his report entitled *Report about the International Teacher Development Program* Peters (1966b) found that most professors believed that correspondence instruction added advantages and that they would "become even more efficient when supplemented by television, radio, and other media." He noted surprise at most universities only offering the first two years of study by correspondence. Graduate work via correspondence was rarely available, aside from the University of Iowa. He noted that in the USSR "even postdoctoral studies are conducted by correspondence and in East Germany a full academic correspondence study is in operation" (O. Peters, 1966b). Peters also reported that despite a lack of knowledge about correspondence education, there was great opposition by faculty in the United States.

In his final report, Peters recommended that the United States should develop one center for correspondence courses in order to achieve maximum efficiency. He (O. Peters, 1966b, p. 9) gave the example of 40 different universities developing individual history courses, and suggested that a centralized institution could develop one course and that individual universities could organize "additional seminars supplementing the correspondence courses." Peters

compared this idea for a correspondence center to USAFI, which he had visited and learn more about while in Wisconsin visiting Wedemeyer and his colleagues. Peters (1966b, p. 10) also observed that, since his first visit to the United States in 1953, educators seemed to be “less sure of themselves” and that the system seemed

to be in a rapid transition which makes it necessary to reevaluate the traditional patterns.

This process is impeded [sic] by problems we do not know in Germany: the race issue, the sharp economic and social contrast between "slums in suburbs" and the many minority groups.

In May 1967, Peters (1967b) wrote to Wedemeyer and asked him if he would contribute to his upcoming book. On this topic, he asked Wedemeyer if he would include discussion of the AIM program, saying that he was “very much impressed” and that it was “the best and most advanced development of university correspondence study!” Peters also reiterated that he realized “that this photo-copy business is kind of a burden and a nuisance disturbing your staff in their regular work” and that he was very appreciative of Wedemeyer’s assistance.

In a September letter, Peters asked Wedemeyer if he knew of anyone who had experience in listening to tapes that students had sent in for language learning in a correspondence program. That same month, Wedemeyer submitted the chapter that he and Dr. Burns of Indiana had worked on together.

Peters (1968) wrote to tell Wedemeyer that he should soon receive a copy of the book *Texte Zum Fernstudium* along with 25 reprints of his article. He informed Wedemeyer that the publisher had arranged to have an English version released as well and that they were working on a translation. Earlier in the year, Wedemeyer had suggested to then President Renée Erdos at ICCE that Peters should be invited to make a presentation at the Paris conference, and in October, Peters wrote to tell Wedemeyer that he had indeed been invited. He also told Wedemeyer that he believed that Wedemeyer’s and Dr. Bern’s paper would be “the best chapter of the book.” The

book covered a number of countries in Europe and in the eastern bloc countries (USSR and East Germany), but Peters (1968) told Wedemeyer that England had been omitted: “I could not include a chapter on England although I had written to all correspondence schools asking for information. The only thing I got was an application form for ordering a course. These schools are not as reliable as American professors in correspondence education!”

Late in 1967, Wedemeyer (1967f) wrote to answer Peters’ invitation to come to Berlin to participate in a West German conference and to present on “The Changing Role of Teachers.” In his letter, Wedemeyer wrote,

I think the AIM experiment would shed light on the changes that innovation require. Innovation, of course, is not the primary reason for the change in the teacher's role. The primary reason is the many changes and challenges within modern society which now require a new approach – a new rationale – regarding both teaching and learning. Confirmation of these challenges and changes impels a serious educator to undertake innovations, one result of which is a radical shift in the role of the teacher. But this role change is implied in the challenges and changes, and must be confronted their before the implementation through innovation. Indeed I think that if the role change is seen only as a result of innovation, innovation and change will be resisted vigorously. The ‘revolution’ in education is not, then, merely technological, although the technological elements are most visible.

In mid-1975 Peters (1975) wrote to “Chuck” Wedemeyer to tell him that Börje Holmberg was being considered for a post at the Fernuniversität, and requested that “in order to realize this project I should like to ask you for a letter of recommendation on his behalf as you are the expert in the field whose judgment is esteemed everywhere in the world.” Wedemeyer (1975) returned a glowing review of Holmberg’s work touching on Holmberg’s books, interest in educational

technology, contributions to international conferences, practical teaching experience, theoretical interest, and his expertise in linguistics.

Summary. This section has provided a few insights into the early interactions of Wedemeyer and Peters. Peters and Wedemeyer met through ICCE in 1965 in Stockholm. The two shared an interest in surveying institutions throughout the world and Peters' interest on this topic brought him to the United States in 1966 to tour institutions around the country. Wedemeyer assisted with the coordination of contacting colleagues and helped Peters with finding research materials. In Peters' report at the end of his tour it is interesting to note that he suggested that the United States could benefit from a centralized correspondence institution like USAFI. The two were clearly interested in the makeup of the systems of correspondence institutions and in the nature of the independent learner in correspondence study, and from analysis of the data in the Wedemeyer archives, it is clear that the two shared ideas and influenced one another via correspondence.

While no written record of what they spoke about when they met face-to-face has surfaced during this study, Peters recalls the two sharing their ideas (Black, 2004). Peters' call for an Open University in the United States in 1966 came after he met with Wedemeyer at the University of Wisconsin. Wedemeyer had already developed the AIM program and had visited the United Kingdom as Kellogg Fellow at Oxford, and he was aware of the *University of The Air* idea that was being debated among politicians, academics, press and the public.

The year after Peters visited the United States, his first article that theorized about distance education as an industrialized form of education, was published (Black, 2004; Keegan, 1983b; O. Peters, 1967a, 2007). It is clear from this section that Peters was impressed by both UNISA and AIM and that he regarded Wedemeyer as the foremost expert in the field.

Wedemeyer and Michael G. Moore. On April 24, 1969, Art Krival (1969) of the University of Wisconsin, who was in Kenya working on a project, wrote to Wilson Thiede back

in Madison, informing him that he would soon be “receiving a letter from a young friend of mine here, Mike Moore, who is interested in exploring the possibility of doing graduate work in adult education in Wisconsin.” He went on to say that he had “worked with Mike in the Institute of Adult Studies here long enough to recognize in him the interest and energy that marked the best kind of extension people in the States, and he is much more imaginative than your typical British adult education type.” Krival (1969) noted that Moore’s experience as an “Extra-Mural Tutor (we would call him a field man) in the Kismu and Mombasa areas could also make him a particularly interesting student to have in a class or seminar.”

Moore had been working in Kenya since his arrival in Kismu in 1963, and began teaching evening classes in economics which were organized by the municipal Council, and then carried on as the appointed Extra Mural Tutor and organized and administered Extra Mural classes in Western Kenya until near the end of 1967. He became part of the full time staff at the Institute of adult studies. As the Extra-Mural Tutor for Mombasa and the Coast Province of Kenya, Moore was responsible for the administration of evening classes, teaching economics, and organizing seminars and public lectures. He carried out research on extension services and various departments of the Kenyan government as well as voluntary organizations in the Coast province.

After receiving Moore’s letter, Thiede informed Wedemeyer about Moore. Moore wrote to Wedemeyer in July and September of 1969, introducing himself and inquiring about studying at Wisconsin. That October, Wedemeyer was in Milton Keynes at the new Open University, acting as a consultant, and he wrote to Moore and told him that he was happy to support his application and would be able to accept him as a graduate assistant – but that there were risks involved. There was limited funding available, and Moore would still need to go through the graduate studies application process. The assistantship that he was offering Moore would have to be reviewed after one year as well. Wedemeyer (1969d) told Moore that the assistantship would entail “administering a component of adult education in Extension, doing studies in a project on

the use of satellites for intercultural adult education, assisting in a seminar which I will offer on independent study, and helping in general with the preparation of papers on adult education and independent study.”

Wedemeyer (1969d) also told Moore that if the risks seemed too great in coming to Wisconsin, he might also consider working with Alan Tough at the Ontario Institute of Adult Studies, noting that “work with Alan Tough would be a first rate opportunity.” He also suggested to Moore that he could apply for a graduate fellowship at the new Open University in a year or so and that “The Open University will, I think, quietly take the lead in Britain and throughout the world in independent study – adult education movements. Write to Walter James, Director of Studies... (Wedemeyer, 1969d).”

On October 15, Moore wrote back to Wedemeyer accepting the assistantship. In November, Thiede told Moore that an application was being sent to him for the Department of Curriculum and Study (Adult Education) at the University and that he would look for the returned application and associated documents. Thiede wrote to Wedemeyer in England and told him that he would keep track of Mr. Moore's application, and in June, Moore informed Wedemeyer that he would arrive in Madison in July 1970. August housing had been worked out and in the meantime, the Moore's would be able to stay with a host family.

One of Moore's first collaborative assignments with Wedemeyer was the Wisconsin Open School Project, which was part of the Governor's Commission on Education. Moore and Wedemeyer shared ideas on the emerging field and on what Wedemeyer (1971a) had been referring to as Independent Study, and Moore (1972, 1973c) expanded these ideas and began to theorize about Learner Autonomy and from these seminal works, Moore's Theory of Transactional Distance evolved (Moore, 2007b).

In June of 1973, Moore took a leave of absence for six weeks so that he could go to St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Canada to head the summer institute, a move that

Wedemeyer (1973) believed would give him “good experience and acquaint” him “with one of the leading educational programs in eastern Canada.” On July 30, Moore wrote to Wedemeyer from Antigonish, Nova Scotia with the news that the University had made him an offer to teach, as an Assistant Professor, beginning in September. This offer was compelling for Moore and his family. The assistantship wage in Wisconsin was below the poverty level and Moore had the difficult choice of weighing a return to Wisconsin against financial stability in Antigonish, a community that suited his family quite well. Moore asked for Wedemeyer’s advice and blessing should he accept the post and also on advice on how he could go about finishing his Ph.D. Wedemeyer (1973) encouraged him, saying that “What you are doing will feed right into your dissertation. Nothing, I am convinced, is ever lost unless you fail to make the connections.”

During his time in Canada, Moore also worked on and had his second article, “Towards a theory of independent learning and teaching” (Moore, 1973c), published in the *Journal of Higher Education* and he presented “Speculations on a definition of independent study” (Moore, 1973b) at the Conference on Independent Learning in Vancouver, Canada that same year with Wedemeyer.

While at Antigonish, Moore and Wedemeyer corresponded regularly with updates on each other’s work. In the fall, Moore’s common interest in radio was evident, and in a letter, he told Wedemeyer that there was a proposed FM radio station at Antigonish that he hoped to “get in on the ground floor of” and that it would be “a great chance to introduce the University to “Distance Teaching.” He noted, however, that Antigonish was “in many ways ... more conservative than Madison” and that his “colleagues in Adult Education are fine people, and very progressive, but we are looked at as rather eccentric. The usual lot for of the adult educator? So, slowly, we plug away” (Moore, 1973a).

Wedemeyer (1973) responded, telling Moore that “The FM radio possibility would be a good thing for you to get into. If you can come up with listeners, the more conservative faculty

may begin to pay attention. The diminishing of regular enrollments, and the growth of off campus enrollments, often brings an opportunity to broaden an institution.” Later, in November, Wedemeyer wrote to tell Moore that he had agreed to join a UNESCO team, led by Kingman Brewster of Yale, in Sudan to evaluate higher education there. Wedemeyer also enclosed a draft of his paper that was to be published in the Handbook of Contemporary Education later in the year, and asked for Moore’s reaction.

In December 1973, Moore wrote to Wedemeyer and asked about satellite feeds and associated costs for a new international program that Antigonish was planning. Wedemeyer referred Moore to Dr. Larry Grayson in Washington, D.C..

Moore continues his thesis research as Wedemeyer’s advisee. While teaching at St. Francis Xavier University, Moore (1976) also continued work on his thesis, which was entitled *Investigation of the Interaction Between the Cognitive Style of Field Independence and Attitudes to Independent Study Among Adult Learners Who Use Correspondence Independent Study and Self Directed Independent Study*. In this study, Moore examined and measured the “psychological characteristics of correspondence students” in two professional adult education programs at the University of Wisconsin and at St. Francis Xavier University in Canada. Moore measured attitudes and field independence. The significance of the study, according to Moore (1976, p. 14), was that it provided “the first information about psychological characteristics of correspondence students” and that it was “the first investigation of the field of independence cognitive style of students in an adult education program.” He wrote that

It provides a conceptual framework for the field of independent study, in which work on defining the components of the field, and on clarifying the terminology, so that it is now more possible for researchers to develop hypotheses in a systematic fashion, to recognize relationships between projects, to obtain systematic replication and to avoid inadvertent duplication (Moore, 1976, p. 14).

In early 1976, Moore sent another rough draft of his thesis to Wedemeyer. In a three page letter, Wedemeyer returned detailed content suggestions and provided additional feedback.

Later in the year, Wedemeyer and Moore talked on the phone about Moore's next draft and in a follow-up letter, Wedemeyer (1976b) gave encouraging feedback to his advisee, telling him that he would need to see a more developed version, in a "penultimate draft (with all sections complete and in order, and with footnotes and reference)" but that

My impression is that your dissertation is developing well. You handle the various sections with care. Your logic and reasoning is right on. You are staying within the boundaries. ... Your writing is very 'packed'; there are here and there, indications of pressure and tension. (Quite understandable!) Try to open up and loosen up where you can. In your earlier writing, there are also occasional, subtle—what shall I call them – 'denigrations' of your efforts. These are merely extensions of the 'mea culpa' attitude that graduate schools seem to encourage in beginning scholars. Of course you must point out the limits and limitations of your study. But do not down-play what you have done and what you are. No one else has done what you have done, which is valuable to the field. You need not feel any guilt that you have not taken the study further. Stress what you have done, and note the limitations plainly and in a positive vein: avenues for further research that are now opened up. You are now an "authority" in the field and know more about your area of concentration than anyone else. Going too far in the other direction is not desirable, either. But that has not been in your nature, and I see no present evidence of over-confidence or arrogance.

In the spring of 1976, Moore sent copies of his thesis to Wedemeyer, telling him that because the library at Antigonish did not have all of his sources, he would need to fill in some of the footnotes once he was back in Madison for final meetings with his committee. This is another

example of the difficulty of accessing resources that scholars faced as they conducted research during the 1960s and 1970s.

Moore's "A Model of Independent Study" was published in *Epistolodidactica* in 1977 and this was followed by additional work (Moore, 1980a, 1980b) on theory and independent study in 1980. In the summer of 1979, Moore was a visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin and taught graduate seminars related to distance education and independent learners. Wedemeyer had established these and they were the only courses in the world on this topic at the time (Moore, 1999).

Between 1977 and 1980, Moore worked as a Senior Counselor at the OUUK in Milton Keynes, where he had an academic and managerial post and then an Education Studies Faculty member post. Moore began his work at The Pennsylvania State University at University Park, Pennsylvania, in 1986 where he founded the Distance Education Online Symposium (DEOS) and the American Center for the Study of Distance Education (ACSDE). At The Pennsylvania State University, he organized a national research symposium and designed and taught the first full program of graduate courses in distance education. During the 1980s, Moore saw over 35 of his works published.

In 1986, Moore founded and became editor of *The American Journal of Distance Education (AJDE)*. Moore interviewed Wedemeyer on November 15, 1986 in Madison and it appeared as *Speaking Personally - With Charles Wedemeyer*, in the first issue of the new journal (Moore, 1987). The two remained in contact via correspondence through the years and saw each other about once a year when Moore attended the annual conference on distance learning in Madison. At the conference, each year beginning in 1987, the Mildred B. and Charles A. Wedemeyer Award has been awarded to an outstanding scholar or recipient who contributes to the field of distance education.

Summary. This section provides insights into Moore's path from Kenya as an adult educator to The University of Wisconsin to become a graduate student and research assistant to Wedemeyer. Some of Wedemeyer's style as a mentor and advisor is revealed, and it provides insights into the beginning of a relationship between two men who would share ideas that evolved Wedemeyer's independent study theory into Moore's theory of learner autonomy, which evolved into the theory of transactional distance (Black, 2004; Keegan, 1983b; Moore, 2007b; Saba, 2003). As a graduate student, Moore also worked with Wedemeyer on the Open School proposal for the State of Wisconsin.

Summary of Wedemeyer's relationship with three early theorists. Wedemeyer's relationship with Holmberg, Moore and Peters is a significant part of the history of the field. Black's (2004) interviews with Holmberg, Moore and Peters reveal that all three influential and prolific theorists credit Wedemeyer as playing a significant role in theory and scholarship and practice in the field, and all assert that they were personally influenced by their interactions with him. This chapter has analyzed documents from the University of Wisconsin archives that shed new light and details on what the scholars shared and ways that they influenced one another during the early years of their relationships through the sharing of ideas, resources, and opportunities for collaboration.

Wedemeyer Address on Research at the 1972 National University Extension Association (NUEA) Convention

This section provides a particular example of Wedemeyer's efforts to encourage research and scholarship among his colleagues. As noted earlier, Wedemeyer successfully encouraged collaboration and sharing of information among colleagues; however, as the following section illustrates, there was sometimes resistance to these ideas and efforts.

Wedemeyer was invited to give the address at the 1972 NUEA National Convention and his talk focused on the importance of research in University Extension. He (1972, p. 8) told the

group that “there has never been a sufficient amount of research in Extension” and that “Our largely intuitive, seat-of-the-pants, reactive program development, teaching and evaluating has contributed to our institutional vulnerability, the sluggish development of professional standards, and a continuing dependency upon the research efforts of others.” Wedemeyer called for more research and development in theory building, studies of the future (not just “population trends and enrollments”), analyses of program development and impact, technology and studies of clients (1972, pp. 9-11). He noted that “A substantial beginning has been made in this effort by agricultural extension workers, but a much larger effort is now needed” and encouraged NUEA members to focus on research on Extension itself:

its theoretical base, its mission vis a vis society’s needs, its approaches, its programming methods, its formats, its communications media and processes, the roles of its workers; its clients, its courses, curricula, its relationship to other social/educational institutions, its successes and failures, its problem-solving and decision-making patterns, its financing and administration.

Wedemeyer proposed that the NUEA Research Section undertake a national study of Extension research and informed them that he and Dr. Clasen (Associate Professor of Extension Education at University of Wisconsin) and Dr. Ghatala (Assistant Dean of Extension at Weber State College in Utah) had forwarded a research design to NUEA officers Dr. Robert Pitchell (Executive Director), Dr. Armand Hunter (President), and Dr. LeRoy Marlow (Chairman of Committee on Program and Institutional Analysis). This survey design had been used at University of Wisconsin Extension and had been sent to 908 Extension faculty members. It was designed to “collect and analyse data regarding the extent to which Wisconsin Extension workers were involved in research, the nature of the research, and the faculty’s perception of the role and function of the Extension Research Committee” (Wedemeyer, 1972, p. 12).

At the University of Wisconsin, the survey resulted in a 49.23% response and an analysis indicated that 32.66% of the faculty had conducted research within the past five years and 67.34% had not. The eight general areas of research that had been conducted were survey research (both individual and corporate), controlled experiments, program evaluation, library research, human relations/perceptions surveys, qualitative analyses, and historical studies.

Wedemeyer (1972, p. 13) suggested that NUEA should have an overall picture of what research was being conducted and that there should be an effort to create a positive climate in Extension for research. Ways in which this could be accomplished included: naming a Chair or Special Professor position that would strengthen scholarship, confirming Extension as an academic area in the overall scheme of higher education; providing an opportunity to conduct research outside of normal administrative and academic responsibilities, and to place Extension faculty on more of an equal footing with residential faculty; generating a climate for those Extension persons whose attributes and interests were in line with research; collaborating with other individuals, departments, institutions, and associations; and opening up Extension as “a laboratory for persons outside of Extension...” for intern and graduate students.

A decade after this speech, Wedemeyer recalled that his suggestions for “what would be the place of research in University extension...” was met with a “thundering silence from the group as a whole; it was very obvious that this was not an accepted point of view. Certainly anyone attempting to generate interest and research was unable to do so” (Moore, 1987, p. 62).

While Wedemeyer’s words may have fallen silent with the NUEA group, he led research efforts throughout his career at the University of Wisconsin and through his leadership with ICCE/ICDE members. As has also been shown earlier, Wedemeyer’s collaborations and interactions with early scholars in the field.

Learning at the Back Door

Wedemeyer's book, *Learning at the Back Door: Reflections on Non-Traditional Learning in the Lifespan* (Wedemeyer, 1981) was published in English and then later in German as *Lernen Durch Die Hintertur: Neue Lernformen in der Lebensspanne* (Wedemeyer, 1984). The book represents the culmination of Wedemeyer's ideas about theory, scholarship, and practice in the field of open and distance education.

On the front cover and on the first pages of the book, Wedemeyer included two pieces of art. One of the images is a painting by Bogdonov-Belski, entitled "School Door" which depicts a poor Russian peasant boy looking into a classroom that is filled with students who are sitting at their desks, apparently busy learning. Wedemeyer (1981, p. 18) included it because the painting depicts "the plight of the millions who have not had front door learning opportunity."

The other image in the book is a pen and ink drawing by Michael Smith entitled "Learning's Open Door" and it pictures an adult who is sitting casually in a modest room, gazing out a door to an open landscape with a sun filled sky. On the shelves and floor around him are items such as a camera, art canvasses, a motor and tools, books, a photograph of a football player, and a globe. Symbolizing that which "learners at the back door have always had to create for themselves," the sketch also suggests "the richness of access to resources that modern communications provide, linking the learner with the entire world" (Wedemeyer, 1981, p. 20).

The origin of the back door reference is a quote by Jonathan Swift (Swift, 1704a, 1704b) in *The Tale of a Tub*, that Wedemeyer also includes in *Learning at the Back Door*: "For to enter the palace of Learning at the Great Gate, requires an expense of time and forms; therefore men of much haste and little ceremony are content to get in by the back door."

Today's back door learners, according to Wedemeyer (1981, p. 20), are classified as "independent, distance, non-traditional, and lifespan learners, making their own ways in learning by using libraries, historical societies, open schools and universities, university extension, and

external and other alternative modes of learning to augment their own resources.” Historically, Wedemeyer (1981, p. 20) maintained that, “back door learning... describes the education of most of the people in the world throughout their lives” and that it has “preceded institutions, and proceeds with or without institutional sanction or guidance.” Although often looked down upon or considered to be limited or self-centered, back door learning has been used throughout history by “philosophers, scientists, writers, musicians, artists, and statesmen” who with “little formal education” have improved human society (1981, p. 20).

Wedemeyer (1981, p. 30) argued that there was a widespread assumption “that teaching and learning always occur together, in an institutionalized relationship, fixed in a place-time environment which teacher and learner share together” but that this myth does not “fit reality.” It was also necessary to question not only the space-time relationship, but also the relationship and the balance of power that existed between the learner and the current educational system.

In a WHA radio interview on the show *Accent on Living*, Wedemeyer (WHA, 1970) described the current educational system as one in which the “prevailing characteristic is that” students “go to the institution at the institution's pleasure” and that entrance requirements and participation require “being in a particular place at a particular the time.” In a system that was designed using the open school concept, an institution

would try to turn this around so that whatever opportunities it offered would be open to the learner on his conditions and at his convenience; on the theory that whatever people learn is of benefit to society as a whole; not only to themselves. And therefore, the system should be open so that whenever you need education it is really available and accessible to you (WHA, 1970).

Learning at the Back Door: Reflections on Non-Traditional Learning in the Lifespan (Wedemeyer, 1981) covers “The Rise of Non-Traditional Learning;” “Non-Traditional Learning and Its Implication;” “Technology and Special Processes in Non-Traditional Learning Systems;”

and “Learning from a Lifespan Perspective: Its Ends in a Learning Society.” In the book, Wedemeyer (1981, pp. 112-113) argued that technology, used correctly,

opens the doors to greater learner independence by permitting physical distance between teacher and learner. Learners not under the constant control and direction of teachers, in a different learning environment from classroom, begin to exercise greater autonomy is a natural maturing condition.

He agreed with Knowles who had warned that students in traditional schools were not being trained to become independent learners, and that the use of technology and distance education could be potentially frustrating to both students and teachers, but he argued that there should be a greater emphasis on independent learning.

His systems thinking and the relationship between humans and technology is summed up in this passage that describes his belief that a more student centered system has the potential to:

unleash, for more individuals than ever before, the extraordinary power of developed humanness. The human being is more wonderful, miraculous, and incredible than any man-made system or technology. Through learning he can solve problems, cope, adapt, plan, analyze, synthesize. He can apply in the present, extrapolate to the future, explore and understand the past. Capable of astonishingly high levels of skill, and subtle variations of feeling in emotionality, he can create in many spheres, extending sensation, feeling, imagery, and meaning to others. He links himself to all around him on three time scales, learning and communicating complex skills, ideas, and feelings. He has a strong and mysterious concept and awareness of self, yet can relate with empathy, compassion, and understanding to others. He can be aggressive and submissive, competitive and cooperative. All these marvelous human capacities are developed, refined, applied and evaluated by learning through the lifespan. The "human technology" of body, brain, nervous system, musculature, organs, tissues, and cell and electrochemical structures and

processes, is the wonder of the world. All man-made technologies pale beside the intricate technology of the human being (Wedemeyer, 1981, pp. 113-114).

Von Pittman (2003b) stated that *Learning at the Back Door: Reflections on Non-Traditional Learning in the Lifespan* (Wedemeyer, 1981) is notably the first important historical book on the topic of nontraditional education in the United States. Simonson (Simonson, 2010) in a recent review, called it “a great and classic book.”

Independent Learning

Wedemeyer had been busy most of his career with building correspondence systems and his research and scholarship reflected this. As was noted in the Trends section, he began to concentrate more on developing his theory of Independent Study in the early 1970s.

Wedemeyer's (1971a) definition of Independent Study was that it consists of various forms of teaching-learning arrangements in which teachers and learners carry out their essential tasks and responsibilities apart from one another, communicating in a variety of ways, for the purposes of freeing internal learners from inappropriate class paces or patterns, or providing external learners opportunity to continue learning in their own environments, and developing in all learners the capacity to carry on self-directed learning, the ultimate maturity required of the educated person. Independent Study programs offer learners varying degrees of freedom in the self-determination of goals and activities, and in starting, stopping and pacing individualized learning programs which are carried on to the greatest extent possible at the convenience of the learners.

Although Wedemeyer had focused on distance or correspondence study throughout most of his career, he saw a way to link Independent Study to what he referred to as internal study and external study. He saw “two streams” that “existed side by side in American institutions of higher education” (Wedemeyer, 1976a, p. 2). One was the internal or traditional on campus independent

learner who was often considered to be gifted, and the other was the non-traditional student who was associated with Extension programs and/or correspondence programs. Each had their roots in the British Extension movement that has been described earlier in this dissertation, but the external stream developed first as a part of “social idealists” who wished to “extend the benefits of higher education to those who were not on and could not come to a university campus.” The second stream came from “academic liberals” who wanted to “provide more choice and freedom to superior students in regular college and university programs” (Wedemeyer, 1976a, p. 2).

Wedemeyer’s theorizing has ties to Gleason (1967) and to Dubin and Taveggia (1968) and he (Wedemeyer, 1976a, p. 4) identified characteristics of both of these ideas:

1. Independent study is concerned with both teaching and learning.
2. Independent study is intended to increase the capacity of learners to be self-directing.
3. Independent study is found in programs within educational institutions and in programs designed to reach outside them.
4. Independent study teachers and learners carry out their tasks separate from one another.

Michael G. Moore has stated that when he was a graduate student, he and Wedemeyer bounced ideas off of one another in Wedemeyer’s office (Black, 2004), and that he later built upon Wedemeyer’s and Gleason’s ideas about space and time restrictions in independent learning. Moore brought in the idea of autonomy and theorized that “the greater” a learner’s autonomy, “the more ‘distance’ he can tolerate, and therefore the more he is independent” (Moore, 1973b; Wedemeyer, 1976a). Moore’s ideas became the theory of Transactional Distance (Moore, 2007b).

During the early 1970s, there was a growing debate surrounding how to label the field. New technologies and the professionalized field, along with the interest in theory and scholarship

(which Wedemeyer had called been calling for) created an atmosphere that opened up the debate to new ideas. In the 1970s ICCE members considered changing its name to ICDE to denote that “distance education” was the modern terminology that was most appropriate. As has also been discussed, “open education” and “open learning” were also terms that were being applied to the field.

In the 1970s, though, Wedemeyer theorized that the term “Independent Study” could be applied to both traditional and non-traditional and distance education. He was a believer in student-centered learning, and it is clear that Wedemeyer believed that the goal of education and of educators should be to instill independence in individuals so that they could pursue lifelong learning as needed. His belief was that the world’s educational systems should, and could be designed to serve these lifelong learners, in as open a way as possible.

Chapter Summary

Wedemeyer contributed to both theory and scholarship during his long career. He was an author of publications that surveyed and analyzed the field and his development of a theory of Independent Study and Independent learning which became a foundation for future research. His leadership as editor of foundational publications in the field provided opportunities for colleagues around the world to contribute to the growing professional field. Additionally, Wedemeyer’s relationships with early theorists such as Holmberg, Peters and Moore (and others) contributed to a growing trend of development of theory and scholarship. During his career, he encouraged and facilitated collaborative efforts through his leadership at ICCE and at the University of Wisconsin. The following chapter provides additional focus on Wedemeyer’s contributions to internationalism.

Chapter 4

Internationalism

Throughout his career, Wedemeyer developed an extensive network of colleagues around the world in the field of open and distance education. Wedemeyer encouraged others to collaborate and he corresponded with colleagues from at least 35 countries. His work with the International Council for Correspondence Education (ICCE)/International Council for Open and Distance Education (ICDE) and on myriad projects put him in direct contact with thousands of people from at least 150 countries. This chapter focuses on Wedemeyer's ever-expanding international interest in open and distance education and key projects and events that he participated in, including the University of Wisconsin Venezuela project, his post as the First Kellogg Fellow at Oxford University, his consultation at UNISA, and his expanding role at ICCE/ICDE that spanned 1962 to 1976 and beyond into his post retirement years.

Wedemeyer and the Venezuela Project

The United States of Venezuela became the Republic of Venezuela in 1953 when a new constitution was formally declared. In 1956, Wedemeyer began to develop a University of Wisconsin-Venezuela program that would include exchange students, exchange professors, and correspondence courses that would be translated into Spanish. The rationale for the proposal was that the people of the new Republic of Venezuela would benefit socially, culturally, and economically from the program of adult education designed to meet their needs and to provide up to duties were training in technical and professional areas (Wedemeyer, 1956b).

The Central University in Venezuela, it was believed, could play a role similar to the role that the University of Wisconsin played for its state citizens to benefit from the extension program and from correspondence education. The concept was that the "Wisconsin Idea" as it had been adopted in Wisconsin could be transferred to the Republic of Venezuela. Wedemeyer

proposed that the two institutions should enter into a collaboration; one in which the University of Wisconsin could meet some of the needs of the Venezuelan adults by providing training in the methods of adult education and in guidance to the Central University. The program would incorporate experimental instructional materials that focused on the field of correspondence study and training of central university faculty members in adult education methodology could be created. Wherever possible, existing textbooks and resources that were available in Spanish could be used, and new materials would be developed in subject areas that were needed (Wedemeyer, 1956a).

Qualified individuals could receive University of Wisconsin credit for correspondence study and special classes. Additionally, Wedemeyer proposed that Venezuelans who did not have the proper prerequisites or requirements for established University of Wisconsin credit programs might still participate and receive certificates upon satisfactorily completing noncredit courses.

The Wedemeyer (1956a) proposal included traditional text-based correspondence courses as well as telecourses which could be integrated into the correspondence study lessons – all in Spanish. Venezuelan institutions would be responsible for the production of telecourses. In addition, six special evening classes would be developed as a cooperative effort by the University of Wisconsin extension division and representatives of industry and business in Venezuela, along with Central University.

Additionally, an Institute or conference would be established for the purpose of research and development. Representatives from both Central University and University of Wisconsin extension would collaborate and would work directly with an appointed director from the central university in cooperation with the Ministry of education and the Republic of Venezuela. The appointed director would be required to visit Wisconsin during the critical development stages in order to provide consultation to the University of Wisconsin Extension faculty, designers and developers. Wedemeyer sent a draft, along with a request for comments and suggestions, on

January 10, 1956 to Bob Mulvihill and T. Shannon, who were currently working with Wedemeyer to create two experimental courses in Spanish. One was an engineering course and the other was a commerce course (Wedemeyer, 1956a).

On June 14, 1956, Wedemeyer set up a special fund for the development of courses especially for Latin American students after receiving a \$25 check as a personal gift from a Venezuelan student, Cecilio Alvares Sanchez. After Wedemeyer told Sanchez about this idea for the special fund, Sanchez donated an additional \$75, and shortly after, the Board of Regents officially approved the Latin American fund which would help future students who studied at the University of Wisconsin.

In August of 1957 Wedemeyer met with University of Wisconsin colleagues Herriott, Bohstadt, Gaumnitz, Stokes, and Mulvihill to discuss the Venezuelan proposal. Central University in Venezuela had recently sent Wedemeyer a letter of interest and it was decided at this meeting that the University of Wisconsin should try and send people to Caracas "as soon as possible to confirm final arrangements" (Wedemeyer, 1957a). It was suggested that Harrington and Rank should go to Caracas and that Gaumnitz and Bohstadt should try and raise funds. The group concluded that the University of Wisconsin-Venezuela program could begin that fall semester. This would necessitate that Venezuelan professors would travel to Wisconsin and stay for six months or more as they trained and developed the program. Following this, someone from University of Wisconsin would in turn be sent to Caracas to help with operations there. The issue of "rigid class – type, academic oriented programs" came up in the discussion as potential political issues but Wedemeyer believed that their "good friend Cecilio Alvarez Sanchez (VP of Chamber of Deputies)" would be able to assist with opening up the curriculum to serve more people (Wedemeyer, 1957a).

In March of 1960 Wedemeyer received a letter from the Director of the School of Education at the University of Zulia, Centro Vocacional, Raul Osorio (1960), in which he

apologized for his delay in replying to Wedemeyer. Osorio informed Wedemeyer that the experimental pedagogical Institute at Barquisimeto had asked him to become director of an Extension department, although he had not decided whether he would accept, and that a "reasonable sum" had been budgeted to the Extension department. Osorio told Wedemeyer that he would help the Institute as much as he could, that they were developing a survey of courses, and that he would get back to Wedemeyer as soon possible.

A month later Osorio sent another letter to Wedemeyer to inform him that he was "very happy with developments there" and that the Experimental Pedagogical Institute had decided to establish a Department of Research and Educational Extension. Osorio told Wedemeyer that they had programs for teachers and for more general adult education in mind and that they would need someone who could help to organize the department and train the limited staff. Osorio (1960) also noted that although the University of Wisconsin extension program did not have an extensive catalog of educational subjects that would suit them, it might also be "a blessing" because he was "not much in favor of too many educational subjects in the curriculum."

The following week Wedemeyer responded with an optimistic letter, confirming agreement with Osorio's choice of courses and areas of development. He also concurred that the number of courses was not an issue, and that "it would be far better, once your staff is trained, to develop your own courses based on your own experience, the needs of your educational system, and the needs and capacities of your teachers" (Wedemeyer, 1960). Wedemeyer (1960) also told Osorio that he believed it would be difficult to find someone with all of the experience and training that Osorio described, and asked him if Osorio would like him to "put out leads" for him.

In 1962, H. K. Duwe of University of Wisconsin received a letter from Edward Cohen, who was the Educational Affairs Attaché for the United States Information Services in Caracas, Venezuela. Cohen was in a new position at the American Embassy in Venezuela and his role was to stimulate "the quantity, quality and benefits resulting from increased contacting interchange

between the U.S. and Venezuelan educational communities” (Cohen, 1962). He explained that he was disappointed in the "previous and unfortunately abortive attempts made to establish some such relationship under the previous Venezuelan government" but that he was writing so that he might "offer to facilitate such a program in every way possible” (Cohen, 1962). Cohen told Duwe that he had learned more about Wedemeyer's proposal through Dr. Börjes Sanchez, who had visited the University of Wisconsin in the fall of 1961. Sanchez had visited Wisconsin as part of a U.S. State Department sponsored tour of the United States (Cohen, 1962).

Cohen's letter was forwarded to Dean Adolfson, who replied the following month to confirm that they were "definitely interested in exploring such cooperation, despite the difficulties we encountered in this matter some years ago" (Adolfson, 1962). Adolfson (1962) told Cohen that the University extension division was primarily interested in assisting the Central University in developing "extension type activities and would have a particular interest in assisting in the development of the correspondence study program" citation. The University would also be interested in interdepartmental research collaboration, "including history, anthropology, geography, economics, political sciences, literature, and languages" and that the University had also recently established a Latino center whose members might also have an interest. Adolfson (1962) told him, "should you and the Central University desire to pursue this matter further, I can assure you that we are prepared to cooperate."

Also, during 1962 another Latin American project, headed by Roger W. Axford, was underway at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee. Other staff members included Dr. Richard Hart, assistant; Mr. Juvenal Murillo, Interpreter; Mrs. Mariella Sanchez Vegas, Interpreter; Mr. Wayne Siewert, Project Assistant-Interpreter; and Miss Ilona Walbruck, Secretary. In 1963, Director Axford had hosted at least 13 participants from Venezuela, ranging in age from 23 to 42 and all with teaching backgrounds. Participants visited between January 14 and January 20. They attended English instruction classes, language laboratory sessions, and

numerous seminars on topics ranging from curriculum development of correspondence study to business education to high school administration and scheduling. They also observed instructional training classes and attended social movements. Wedemeyer also met with the director of planning (Dr. Olinto Camacho) and the Director of Secondary, Higher, and Special Education, Ministry of Education, Caracas, Venezuela) during their visit. Wedemeyer shared copies of the University of Wisconsin extension Venezuela project proposal with guests and with Axford.

Later that year, Osorio (1963), from Venezuela, wrote back and informed Wedemeyer that

in spite of the pressure of this matter, it appears that our university will not be in a position to go ahead with the proposed center for extramural studies until next year for the following reasons: a) the finance committee of the Congress has yet to hand an opinion on our request for some \$800,000 needed to cover current expenses, b) our calendar year, now beginning in October, will start in February as of the next academic.

And this means that scholastic activities will be at a minimum between July 1963 in January 1964, and c) the undersigned is undertaking further graduate work in the United States between June 1963 in February 1964 and the University authorities are reluctant to do anything on this matter while I am away.

Osorio (1963) vowed to continue work, however, and to get back to Wedemeyer said that he would have "ample time to study it."

By 1964, the project was underway, and it was Wedemeyer who would travel to South America to consult on this new project. On June 29, 1964, Wedemeyer left Madison for New Orleans where he caught a steamship for the ten day journey to La Guaira, Venezuela. Upon arrival, he drove to Caracas and spent a month setting up a training program on methods, techniques, and operations for correspondence teaching. A correspondence unit in the Instituto Nacional Cooperativa Educacion (INCE) was established as part of the project. On August 10,

1964 Wedemeyer left Caracas and returned to Madison. Eight years after Wedemeyer's initial proposal, the Venezuela program was underway.

Wedemeyer follows up Venezuela project. Two years later in the spring of 1966, Wedemeyer returned to Caracas, Venezuela for two weeks to consult and to follow-up on the training progress and the establishment of the correspondence unit at the Instituto Nacional Cooperativa Educacion.

On his visit, Wedemeyer met with members of the US-AID, U.S. Department of State, INCE, the Community Development Foundation, and with various representatives from the American Institute for Free Labor Development, Instituto de Mejoramiento, the Graduate School of Business, Metropolitan University, and the Ministerio de Educacion.

A large part of Wedemeyer's time was spent in the preparation of a teaching manual for a correspondence methods and techniques course that targeted INCE personnel and individuals from other countries. The manual (Wedemeyer, 1966d) covered topics such as

- What Is Correspondence Study?
- What Is Learning theory?
- Postal service Inquiry
- How Do You Organize and Administer?
- How Do You Develop a Study Guide?
- The Lesson
- The Role of the Teacher
- The Adviser and Regional Representative
- Writing Sample Lessons
- Plan of Organization and Administration
- Plan for Relating Radio, Programmed Instruction

- Guide for Developing Courses
- Guide for Counsellor/Adviser
- Guide for the Instructor

Wedemeyer reported that progress between 1964 and 1966 had been substantial but slower than had been anticipated. Among the major points, Wedemeyer suggested that there be more cooperation between organizations throughout the country so that they could create a more efficient system, and that a long range budget planning approach should be taken. Additional support from the University of Wisconsin, including consultation visits from University of Wisconsin personnel and visits to Wisconsin for INCE personnel would also help the program to advance (Wedemeyer, 1966d).

The Venezuelan INCE program illustrates that the system that Wedemeyer and his colleagues implemented included a combination of radio and correspondence, counselors or advisors, regional representatives, and administrative elements. There was also a face-to-face classroom component. It is interesting to note that these types of system components were also part of the OUUK system that developed (with Wedemeyer's consult) over five years later in Britain. As previously discussed, the OUUK was influenced by various programs, and the evidence shows that Walter James at the OUUK received part of the Venezuelan project report from Wedemeyer. The Venezuelan program was already underway at least five years before the OUUK planning committee was finalizing its plans at Milton Keynes, and as has been shown, Wedemeyer began planning the Venezuelan project as early as 1956, 15 years before the OUUK opened its doors.

First Kellogg Fellow at Oxford University

On November 17, 1964 Professor Jessup, who was Secretary of Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies, at Oxford University in the United Kingdom, wrote to Wedemeyer and invited him to be the first Kellogg fellow in adult education at Oxford. Jessup had heard Wedemeyer

speak in Wiesbaden, Germany the year before, and in his invitation letter, told him that he recalled his talk with “with gratitude” (Jessup, 1964). Unknown to Wedemeyer at the time, Jessup had discussed the possibility of Wedemeyer going to Oxford with President Harrington of the University of Wisconsin during a meeting that they had the summer of 1964 in Chicago (Jessup, 1964; Wedemeyer, 1964a).

Wedemeyer responded positively to this offer, and after salary and living arrangements were negotiated between Oxford and the University of Wisconsin and between Wedemeyer and his department, Wedemeyer was able to officially accept the offer. Wedemeyer saw the Oxford Fellowship as an opportunity to continue the work that he had begun in 1961 when he toured 14 countries in Europe under a Ford foundation grant. He had also had an opportunity to visit another five countries in 1963 on his trip that was sponsored by the U.S. Air Force. Wedemeyer was to spend two months at Oxford and then would go on to Stockholm where he was to deliver the keynote address for the ICCE meeting.

Wedemeyer and his wife flew into London airport and by afternoon, settled into Oxford’s Rewley House, a small building with 40 or 50 residential, teaching and administrative rooms. That evening, the Wedemeyer’s were guests of Jessup’s at an Association of Tutors in adult education conference dinner. After dinner, Harold Wiltshire of the Nottingham Extra-Mural Department spoke on the *Provision of Courses on Television Linked with Correspondence Courses* (Jessup, 1965). Wiltshire, as has been noted before, would later be appointed to the OUUK’s planning committee.

Just prior to Wedemeyer’s arrival at Oxford, Jessup (1965) told Wedemeyer that there had been “a good deal of discussion in England during the last year about the development of teaching at a distance – radio, television, and correspondence courses,” and that “The situation is not entirely free of political nuances which I will tell you about when you are here.” Jessup (1965) included a University Council for Adult Education statement for Wedemeyer to review,

and told him that they had hopes that “the Government Department of Education and Science will consider the proposal seriously.”

The main concept of the proposal was that there should be “a permanent organization ... Representative of education on broadcasting interests, to develop teaching by radio, television, correspondence and ancillary services is a normal part of the national provision for education beyond school age” and this would include “preparation for external degrees, ... preparation for professional qualifications, ... industrial and professional retraining, ... liberal adult education, and courses in basic subjects for students in industry and institutions of Further Education” (UCAE, 1965).

In summary, control of the Centre would be maintained by an academic body that consisted of an Executive Board, representatives from universities and institutions, with committees and sub-committees that planned courses, produced materials, and maintained close communication with the adult education community. Funding would come from grants from the Department of Education & Science, with student fees paying for course materials. This is not how the OUUK would finally be organized, and Wedemeyer’s visit to Oxford and his later consultation with the OUUK planners would play a role in the changes that were made.

While in Oxford, Wedemeyer participated and attended six conferences that were held at Rewley house. The conferences ranged in themes of trade unionism, science, philosophy, and literature. He also attended more than 10 lectures and carried on a large number of consultations with adult education leaders including those from Oxford, Birmingham, Nottingham, Keele, Urchfront, Bristol, Boston, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Ditchley Park, and London. While at the conferences, he met educators from all over the United Kingdom as well as from Denmark, Germany, France, Lebanon, Egypt, Turkey, Jerusalem, and Africa (Wedemeyer, 1965f).

His lectures were held at Ditchley Park, Fircroft, Glasgow, Keele, Nottingham, and Oxford, and in addition, he met with two members of Parliament in London; the head of the

National Extension College in London; the head deputy of the national Institute of Adult Education in London; the principal officers of Wolsey Hall in Oxford; members of the working party on establishing standards for correspondence education in the United Kingdom; an officer of ITV; rediffusion television; representatives of two technical colleges; two teacher education college representatives; representatives of seven universities; a committee at the Department of Education and Sciences in London; eight representatives of departments of Extramural studies; and representatives of four residential centers. One of the people that Wedemeyer met was Jack London, Professor of Adult Education, from the University of California at Berkeley. Wedemeyer was also invited to visit the office of the Ministry of Education in London and met with Mr. Toomey and Mr. Basey of Arts, Intelligence and External Relations (who was interested in educational television); with Miss Kennedy from the Further Education Branch; and with Mr. Edwards, who was the Staff Inspector for Aide to Teaching and School Broadcasts (Parsons, 1965).

In June the Fellowship ended and on June 7, 1965 Wedemeyer (1965f), who was on his way to leave for Stockholm, wrote to Jessup, telling him that the Kellogg Fellowship had provide him with opportunities:

... to think ... to study ... to write ... to converse freely with educators from throughout the United Kingdom and Europe ... to compare philosophies and practices in adult education ... to go to conferences, lectures, concerts and plays in pursuit of the ever-widening cultural relatedness of human learning ... to visit other universities, colleges and centers of adult education ... to lecture ... to gain more than superficial impressions, and to progress towards an understanding of adult education in the UK and ... to work in solitary independence or in the warmth and give-and-take of group discussion.

Wedemeyer's time in Oxford was an opportunity for him to learn about England's educational systems, to further develop his international network, and to inform UK educators

and visitors from around the world about the AIM program back in Wisconsin. As has been noted before and in this section, Wedemeyer was introduced to key members of the OUUK planning committee during this visit and they would call upon him later for consultation.

University of South Africa (UNISA) Consultation Trip

Wedemeyer was a consultant at UNISA in 1967 and was asked to review the university system that was in place. Wedemeyer's final UNISA report became one of the resources that was used by the OUUK planning committee. His consultation trip, a brief history of UNISA, and his report are covered in this section.

On May 13, 1966, Dr. Samuel Pauw of UNISA wrote to Wedemeyer with an "exploratory attempt to find out what the possibility are of a visit ... to our University," telling him that "It is some years since we have last heard from each other. The impressions I gained on our visit to you in 1958 have however lived on" (Pauw, 1966). Wedemeyer reacted favorably to this and wrote to R. L. Claudius, Donald McNeil (Chancellor), and T. J. Shannon to tell them about the invitation to UNISA. He outlined the logistics of such a visit, saying that he would not be able to make such a trip until the following year, and added that

while the opportunity to see South Africa is intriguing, and a chance to survey the University of South Africa—a unique institution in the world—is professionally exciting, the apartheid policies of the government of South Africa disturb me. I suppose, though, that it would be useful to see things first hand, and particularly to assess the impact of apartheid on higher education (Wedemeyer, 1966a).

Overview of UNISA. The University of South Africa (UNISA) was established by Act No. 12 of 1916 by Parliament and evolved from the University of the Cape of Good Hope, which was founded in 1873. Prior to this, in 1850, a Board of Examiners of Candidates for Government Service had been established. The Board of Examiners of Candidates for Government Service led to the establishment of a Board of Public Examiners in Literature and Science, which was

established in 1858. Over the years, UNISA had set the standards for other academic institutions such as Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Natal, Orange Free State, Rhodes and Potchefstroom. UNISA became one of the world's pioneers of distance education in 1946 when it began offering external degrees through what was known in South Africa as teletuition, or what then called correspondence education in other parts of the world. UNISA primarily provided part-time learning opportunities to non-traditional students, but in the 1960s it was the world's only recognized university that offered Bachelor's Honour's, Master's and Doctorate's degrees via correspondence. Degrees required a minimum of three years study. Students received written study guides, textbooks and other materials and were required to complete various assignments before taking examinations. The examinations were able to be administered to a student at one of more than 500 centres that were located throughout South Africa as well as South African embassies (for those who were abroad). UNISA also had established an interdisciplinary research institute, the Africa Institute, in 1960. Learner-teacher contact was maintained via letters, telephone calls, tape recordings, newsletters, journals and casebooks. In the cases of music and language courses, the library provided tapes. In the mid-1960s, UNISA was also experimenting with microfiches. These microfiches were 4" x 6" cards on which 60 pages of text material could be stored and then read using a microfiche machine at the students' home. UNISA had also installed a computer that assisted with both administrative and research. Approximately two million departmental publications and 300,000 books with lecture notes were being published every year. By 1970, UNISA was sending out over three million parcels during a six-month enrollment period (Hettema, 1968; UNISA, 1975; UNISA first in its field, 1968; Wedemeyer, 1968b).

The university had approximately 22,000 students enrolled in 1967 and had a full time academic staff of more than 400. More than half of the students were older than 28 years and a quarter were older than 34. In 1967, 15,600 students were Caucasian, 1,853 were Bantu, 1,019

were Asiatics, 524 were Black (African), and 2,902 were students of Colleges of Non-Whites (Hetteema, 1968). Non-Whites or “Colored” were considered to be of mixed descent. There were five Colleges of Non-Whites and these were also nicknamed “tribal colleges.” They were under the direction of UNISA up until 1968, when the Government of South Africa noted that they would be called Universities, and granted them autonomy (if they met certain conditions) over their syllabuses, examinations, training of students, course delivery, and awarding of degrees, certificates, and diplomas. The Colleges of Non-Whites included the University College of Fort Hare at Alice, the University College of the North, near Turfloop, in the Northern Transvaal, the University College of Bellville, near Cape Town, the University College of Durban, on Salisbury Island, and the University College of Zululand, near Ngoye (Unknown, 1968). These colleges were an extension of Apartheid (which was institutionalized in 1948) wherein people were given certain rights and privileges according to their race. The granting of a certain degree of autonomy to these institutions was one of a series of small, and sometimes purely political or symbolic steps that the government took throughout the years. It was not until approximately 1994 that an all-race election took place (Chokshi, Carter, Gupta, Martin, & Allen, 1995).

Wedemeyer’s UNISA consultation moves forward. After financial and scheduling negotiations with UNISA and his colleagues at University of Wisconsin, the terms of the agreement were reached. The University of South Africa would pay Wedemeyer \$3,500 directly for two months of work in Pretoria and then would pay University Extension at University of Wisconsin for one month’s salary (\$1,750). Wedemeyer’s air travel, passport and visa charges, medical preparation, insurance and subsistence costs during travel both were covered by UNISA and the two-month trip was planned for September 9 – November 9, 1967 (*Memorandum of agreement*, 1967).

Prior to his trip, Wedemeyer sent a copy of the *Brandenburg Memorial Essays II* to Pauw. Additionally, he arranged for other materials, including a film reel of “Postage Stamp

Classroom” to be mailed to UNISA. Also, in July 1967, two months before Wedemeyer left Madison for Pretoria, the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents announced that they had established the William H. Lighty Professorship to develop basic research and extension programming, and that Charles Wedemeyer would fill this post. After two decades of primarily being an administrator The William H. Lighty Professorship provided Wedemeyer with an opportunity to concentrate on research and scholarship. Black (2004, p. 332) concluded that of the early distance education scholars, Otto Peters and Wedemeyer were examples of people “who were able because of their time/contexts, to devote a considerable amount of time to distance education scholarship” and that they were also both benefactors of a new phenomenon of significant funding for distance education projects and research.

Prior to Wedemeyer’s arrival on September 11, 1967, Principal Samuel Pauw (1967) sent out a letter to all senior officials at UNISA, informing them that he and the University Council had invited Wedemeyer “to conduct a three-month study of the effectiveness of the University of South Africa” and to evaluate “the effectiveness of our methods, procedures and organization” with a particular look at “the introduction of modern media of communication and evaluation.” Wedemeyer was to have “full freedom to conduct his study” and the departments were to “provide every help to him, and to cooperate in all ways.”

Wedemeyer’s proposal for research and review of UNISA was to be based on the following objectives:

- To assess the organization of the University of South Africa to accomplish its mission.
- To assess the instructional methods of the University of South Africa.
- To assess the operational procedures of the University of South Africa.

- To determine the need and practicability of the greater application of educational technology in the University of South Africa, specifically: programmed learning; radio; telephone; semi-automated and automated audio-visual systems; computer assisted instruction; and a “systems” approach to the development of learner-oriented independent systems.
- To assess the adequacy of the financial support level of the University of South Africa, particularly in comparison with other South African universities (Cost-benefit ratios).
- To meet with officers and faculty members of the University of South Africa for the discussion of matters of mutual concern.
- To visit other South African universities and meet members of their faculties
- To lecture at the University of South Africa, and possibly at other South African Universities.
- To prepare a report, including recommendations, for Prof. Pauw and the University Council.

Wedemeyer proposed a two-pronged approach to this research on UNISA. The first was to consider the University "in its cultural as well as its institutional setting" (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 3). His objective was to view the institution as objectively as he could as an outsider, while also approaching his data collection with empathy, considering as much as possible through his understanding of what he learned about "South African literature, music and drama, and art, through learning South African value systems, customs and folkways, by observing South Africans and relating actively to them work, at home, at play" (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 3).

Information gathering consisted of a 13 step plan. He would analyze statistical and other UNISA reports of operations; consult with officers and faculty members; confirm the mission of

the University; identify learner profiles; identify learner objectives; steady growth factors in South African policy; analyze state support for the University; consult with state officials; consult with officials faculty members of other universities; analyze University curricula; meet with and survey students; meet with departmental and interdepartmental committees concerned with development and analyze independent study techniques.

Independent study techniques that Wedemeyer researched included application of learning theory; the design of lecture materials, tutorial letters, feedback and reinforcement systems; the use of educational technology such as visuals audio telephone radio audit needed and semi-automated systems and computers; learning material development; faculty development programs, techniques of learning how to learn independently; counseling the learner; motivating the independent learner; examination procedures; student accounting procedures; cost of instruction ratios; fieldwork with students such as recruiting, advising, counseling, and discussion participation sessions.

The first seven weeks of Wedemeyer's Pretoria visit included information gathering along with analysis. He then traveled to Cape Town at the end of October into early November and after a week there, went on to Durban, where he stayed for five days. The last few weeks were spent preparing the report. Wedemeyer met with at least 60 in-house individuals at UNISA. He also met with approximately 40 outside individuals. In some cases department heads at the University asked him to meet with an entire group. These meetings consisted generally of open-ended interviews that lasted anywhere from one to several hours, some with follow-ups. Outside individuals included Principals of Universities of Witwatersrand; Stellenboush; Bantu; Cape Town; Natal; Randse Afrikaanse; Port Elizabeth; Western Cape; CSIR; DeColigny Mission; Potchefstroom; College of the North; and Fort Hare. The outside individuals also interviewed Wedemeyer and asked for advice. Wedemeyer additionally met with government representatives including the U.S. Embassy Cultural Attaché and Durban's City Councilor.

In addition, because Wedemeyer's trip had been publicized, he received questions via mail from others that he did not meet with face-to-face.

Wedemeyer lectures at UNISA. Aside from his evaluation duties, Wedemeyer presented three main lectures at UNISA and one at Rand Afrikaans University. A review of the lectures at UNISA is useful in understanding his thinking about education and theory at this point in time. The first was on the topic of "The Independent Learner" and the second, "A Theory of Independent Learning." Over the course of these lectures, he talked about the history of correspondence study, the nature of the traditional model of education at universities, societal changes and the electronic age in the context of education, new imperatives for adults, the aims of education, and the nature of the university. The traditional model, Wedemeyer noted, contained the elements of eyeball-to-eyeball contact, an adaptation to the individual, a high level of learner participation/involvement, the use of direct impression and direct evaluation of learner progress and achievement. In this model, the teacher was mentor, guide, thinker and problem solver (Wedemeyer, 1967b).

Wedemeyer (1967c) offered a definition of the independent learner:

"that learner who is separated from the school & the teacher, in an environment independent of school and teacher, dependent upon self-motivation, self-direction, and has communication with his teacher via some medium such as the post." This 1967 definition of the *independent learner* contains separation of learner and teacher and communication that is mediated through technology, which infers distance education.

The independent learner, according to Wedemeyer's (1967c) lecture notes, was located "in the stream of education by making reference to certain events in the history of western higher education; we noted the special significance of the new communications technology to the independent learner; we noted the rise of the continuing educ[ational] imperative for adults." A

changing and new type of society required hypothesizing a new kind of system that served the needs of learners in this new world context. Wedemeyer (1967c) argued that this

hypothesis must be practical and recognize that we already have educational systems.

Since we are not free to scrap the present systems (and would not want to do so), we must think in terms of changes and alterations which can be accommodated within the present system, liberalizing the system, so to speak, to accomplish that which is now required.

This new system, according to Wedemeyer (1967c):

- should be capable of operation anywhere where there are students, or even only one student, whether there are teachers at the same place at the same time or not
- should place greater responsibility for learning on the student
- should free faculty members from custodial type duties so that more time can be given to truly educational tasks
- should offer students and adults wider choices (more opportunities) in courses, formats, methodologies
- should use, as appropriate, all the teaching media and methods that have been proven effective
- should mix and combine media and methods so that each subject or unit within a subject is taught in the best way known
- should cause the redesign and development of courses to fit into an articulated media program
- should preserve and enhance opportunities for adaptation to individual differences
- should evaluate student achievement simply by evaluating student achievement, not by raising barriers concerned with the place the student studies, the rate at

which he studies, the method by which he studies, or the sequence within which he studies

- should permit students to start, stop and learn at their own paces

Most of these requirements for a new system could be accomplished within the “conventional instructional systems built around the classroom,” according to Wedemeyer; however, the first one (operation anywhere where there are students, or even only one student, whether there are teachers at the same place at the same time or not) required and “unconventional approach.” The last requirement, (students to start, stop and learn at their own paces), could be accomplished, but it required major administrative flexibility. Various modern media technologies now made it possible for students who were studying at a distance to have learning experiences that had “direct sense impressions” – that were “intimately linked with the use of the senses” – these types of experiences were linked to a type of “survival learning” that does “not disappear thru a person’s lifetime” (Wedemeyer, 1967d). Just as in a traditional classroom, valuable learning experiences were now possible via a distance because of new technologies and systems.

Finally, in his discussion of scholarship in the field, Wedemeyer emphasized to attendees that correspondence study research at that point was mainly descriptive and operational and that there was a need to study the theoretical base of independent study.

Wedemeyer also met on November 10 at Philadelphia Hall with UNISA teaching staff and senior officials and presented the film *Postage Stamp Classroom*. Following the film there was a question-answer session. After the Pretoria visit, the Wedemeyer’s traveled home via Europe, arriving back in Madison in late December after their three-month trip.

Wedemeyer’s UNISA report. The purpose of UNISA, reconstituted for external students in 1951, was to institute degree courses for those members of the population of South Africa who worked full-time or part-time or for some other reason may have been unable to

attending a full-time university. Reasons might include economic, physical distance, irregular working hours, graduates who desire to change their course of study but could not attend full-time, and because of race – specifically non-Europeans who were restricted from attending university because of apartheid policies. Wedemeyer's (1968b, p. 12) rephrasing of the mission was "to provide part-time higher educational opportunity to persons in South Africa who – for whatever reasons – are deprived of opportunity, and who qualify for UNISA's educational programs."

The organizational structure up to that point had served its purpose but was experiencing stress due to recent rapid changes in enrollment. UNISA to that point had sometimes combined leadership of both academic and administrative elements, and Wedemeyer's report suggested that as the University grew in size and complexity (estimates were that within 10 years it would grow from 22,000 students to 75,000-100,000), the organization should separate these responsibilities so that academic matters could be decided by persons on the academic side of the institution and administrative and fiscal decisions would be in the hands of administrators. Open communication between the two groups and this restructuring would provide the institution with a better opportunity to meet its mission (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 16).

Wedemeyer (1968b, p. 16) found that the quality, motivation, interest, and dedication of faculty members was "extraordinarily high" and that it could be said that the University was near the top of any university that served external students. One particular reason for this was that faculty members were of high quality. Most had been hired from other universities throughout South Africa and the West, and because the institutions supported faculty travel and study and research in other countries, they were sought after by outside universities. A major point of improvement, Wedemeyer believed, was to increase the number of feedback points during a course. The University typically required three to five assignments, and the result of this was that students had few opportunities to receive instruction and motivation from teachers; teachers had

few opportunities to initiate and carry out dialogue with students; teachers and students were provided with little evidence of learner progress; and student goals were so broad that larger blocks of time were needed by students to work on assignments. While Wedemeyer cautioned about the danger of splitting assignments into small units and creating what might appear to be busy work, he stressed that an increase would strengthen the course because of the value of feedback and dialogue.

Courses also relied primarily on the written word, and Wedemeyer (1968b) suggested that the University begin to apply other channels of communication through the use of existing and emerging technologies. Technologies that were appropriate included radio, telephone, television, automated or semi-automated audio and visual systems, and computers. He suggested a phased approach to introducing new technologies, and recommended that a media technology specialist should be hired so that they could advise faculty; provide technical knowledge and skill for experiments; evaluate projects; set specifications for purchase, use, and maintenance of hardware; and work as consultant to faculty on design and development of software. A development program could familiarize faculty with options, and then proposals could be collected from faculty, after which software could be designed and developed. Hardware purchase and experimentation and evaluation could take place on an experimental basis, after which if proven effective, could be adapted and used in other areas as it was appropriate.

Wedemeyer (1968b, pp. 45-46) urged that a systems approach be used during this process. The steps in this process included: setting clear behavioral objectives; designing a unit or experiment; determining content of teaching units; selecting media; testing the pilot project; modifying the pilot project as necessary; developing and producing materials; applying materials to hardware; and evaluation.

Wedemeyer reported that the content quality of lecture notes at the University was high but that the quality of duplication and visual quality was uneven, and in most cases could be

greatly improved. He suggested that the University hire and appoint an editor who could oversee the design and production of publications. This individual would serve as a go-between for faculty and the publication technicians. Additionally, Wedemeyer suggested that the University invest in new technologies such as an automatic camera film processor and a paper collator (the University was currently using individuals to manually collate). He suggested that as the University began to experiment with new technologies such as radio and television, that they centralize these efforts and rely on one production department so that they could "avoid duplication, improve service and arrange for the various production services to help each other through coordination of services" (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 52).

The fourth recommendation that Wedemeyer (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 53) offered was that the University should begin to research "basic questions concerning (A) the part-time independent learner, (B) education across cultural barriers, and (C) educational communications." He noted that little research was being done in these areas, and that it would be up to institutions such as UNISA to carry on this research, because traditional universities have little use for concern about these topics. All of these areas were intensely linked with the University's mission, and it was Wedemeyer's belief that they would be able to obtain funding for both implementation and research because these were critical areas, especially as the University approached a new era of growth.

Because the University relied so heavily on Postal Service in South Africa, Wedemeyer's fifth recommendation was that they closely examined the efficiency of that system and that they work closely with the Postal Service to find ways to improve the efficiency and quality of that service. If necessary, alternative means of delivery should be considered and experimented with. If possible, UNISA should attempt to negotiate discounted rates for course delivery, and in addition, it should advocate reduced rates for students around the country who were enrolled –

especially because economics was one of the factors that prevented many students from obtaining an education in the first place.

The next recommendation was that the University should "enter the adult or continuing education field and offer both general and special courses for adults, particularly in the managerial and professional fields" (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 60). These courses should not be necessarily tied to any degree program, in cooperation with other universities would be helpful as the program grew and as more conference and meeting facilities were needed.

UNISA operated vacation schools during the year so that students could meet face-to-face for some courses. Wedemeyer's seventh suggestion was that the annual schedule be adjusted to accommodate more students (Wedemeyer, 1968b).

The eighth recommendation that Wedemeyer offered was to adapt the examination process. He felt that the examination process as it existed had more of an institutional purpose rather than an academic purpose and that UNISA could create a process that served both the student and the institution. By developing ways to provide faster feedback through the use of computers and by changing the examination schedule, the University would be able to provide feedback to students so that they and their teachers could actually understand how much and what they had learned. For example, many examinations were simply given at the end of a course, and students only received the final grade – they did not receive feedback on the content and had no way of determining whether or not or to what degree they actually understood the material (Wedemeyer, 1968b).

Wedemeyer's ninth recommendation was that because the University already had high quality business courses that were offered, that they establish a separate graduate school of business that modeled the Lord Frank Commission recommendations in England. Further research on the Lord Frank Commission is needed in order to explain this recommendation.

Expansion of services to students was another area for improvement that Wedemeyer suggested. Through an understanding of the characteristics of the adult learner, UNISA could provide services which would assist and sustain a student's efforts. These services might include a handbook that explained the method of independent learning, how to set goals, and what some of the difficulties are when undertaking independent learning. Counselors could be used to assist both teachers and students, employer assistance programs could be set up, and former students might be called upon to help current students through the process. Wedemeyer also suggested that UNISA approach the military about setting up a system that was similar to the USAFI project in the United States (Wedemeyer, 1968b).

Wedemeyer (1968b, p. 71) suggested that a "more aggressive information program for UNISA, especially and that nonwhites" was "essential for the achievement of UNISA's mission." He also suggested that the program for whites was also needed and that UNISA should expand its public relations and information to other countries.

Because of the projected growth of the student body, the library would need to expand and improve its ability to provide service to external students. This would include determining the ebb and flow of student demand, perhaps establishing branch libraries, and developing computerized systems so that students and faculty could retrieve information. Cooperation with ERIC and other agencies that provided microfiche should also be investigated (Wedemeyer, 1968b).

Related to projected growth into the important mission that UNISA performed in South Africa, Wedemeyer (1968b, p. 75) urged them to rally the government to "make UNISA equal in subsidy to the South African residential universities. In terms of national interest, the subsidy of all students should be equal; furthermore there is no rational basis for subsidizing the more affluent residential student at a higher level than the less affluent external student."

Final recommendations included the UNISA Senate to streamline its processes to prepare for upcoming growth, and that the University also set up a process of self-evaluation. Again, Wedemeyer noted that the emergence of computer technology would allow the University not only to evaluate students, but to evaluate itself.

Wedemeyer ended his report by including a list of recommended periodicals and books related to educational technology, instructional media, independent study, and learning theory. He also reported that,

I think it can be safely said that UNISA is now one of the foremost institutions for the independent learner in the world; perhaps in five or 10 years it will be the greatest.

Certainly UNISA has all of the elements that one would look for in predicting distinction as well as growth. The recommendations in this report, it is hoped, point some ways to exploit these singular potentials (Wedemeyer, 1968b, p. 80).

Wedemeyer's UNISA report received a great deal of press in South Africa that covered the positive aspects of Wedemeyer's report. Further research is needed to know whether or not UNISA immediately followed up on Wedemeyer's recommendations. Tait (2003), citing Nonyongo (2002) points out that the South African Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE) carried out a study of UNISA in the 1990s after apartheid and found that one of the key areas that needed improvement was student support. One of Wedemeyer's recommendations in the 1968 Report, as noted in this section, was that student support services should be increased. This "integrated student support system" was one of the successes of the OUUK, according to Tait (2003), and as has been noted, Wedemeyer had conveyed this learner-centered idea to early planners at the OUUK. The relationships between UNISA, the OUUK, and Wedemeyer, has been recognized by Daniel and Mackintosh (2003, p. 815) who said that "there are important links between the history of the two institutions and the lifework of the American visionary, Charles

Wedemeyer, whose foresight concerning learner independence helped direct the realization of the principles of open learning in the mega-universities.”

This section on UNISA has provided information that is relevant to the history of UNISA, the world’s first single mode distance mega-university, and thus is also important to the history of open and distance education. Additionally, Wedemeyer shared his UNISA report with the original planners of the OUUK. Further research at the OUUK archives may reveal more about the extent to which the various elements of the report were actually discussed, who saw the report, and exactly what design decisions were incorporated, but it is clear that the system structure that Wedemeyer recommended has similarities to the OUUK. These include the integration of various media; a strong student support network; student tutors; faculty development; a strong research agenda; efficiency of the postal service; opportunities for face-to-face meetings; and the use of computers for feedback and better understanding of students.

Wedemeyer Leads International Correspondence Association into the Modern Era: From ICCE to ICDE

Wedemeyer was involved with The International Council on Correspondence Education (ICCE) from the 1950s through the 1980s. This section provides background on ICCE (which became ICDE in 1982) and details about Wedemeyer’s significant contributions and leadership in ICCE/ICDE over three decades.

The ICCE has held conferences since 1938. The idea for the organization surfaced during a meeting at Columbia University in New York in August of 1936, when J. W. Gibson was presenting on the topic of correspondence education in countries that he had knowledge of and suggested that international conferences should take place to further international study and collaboration (Bunker, 1998).

The first conference was held in Canada, and the delegates that attended enthusiastically set in motion a series of upcoming meetings, the first of which was supposed to be held in 1940

was postponed due to World War II, but was eventually held in 1948. During this conference the group voted unanimously to create a new body or organization which would be known as the International Council on Correspondence Education. During this conference it was also decided that a new constitution would be drafted and then presented at the third conference in New Zealand which took place in 1950. A vote was taken in 1957 on the Constitution and ratification eventually occurred in 1961. Membership in the organization according to the Constitution would be open to correspondence education organizations (Bunker, 1998).

Wedemeyer, while Director at Racine, attended ICCE for the first time in 1953 in State College, PA. The conference was originally planned for 1952 but was delayed one year due to the Korean War. The conference was held between August 31 and September 4. No conference theme was chosen during this year.

The next ICCE conference was held in 1957 at the Banff (Canada) School of Fine Arts from June 2-9. G. J. Buck was President along with Vice-Presidents Eric LePetit, Edith Lucas, Sylvia Haight, A.J. Betheras, Elizabeth Powell, Norman Braden, and Homer Kempfer. During this conference, on June 6, Wedemeyer presented on the topic of *The Teaching of Superior Children by Correspondence Study*. This was Wedemeyer's first presentation at an ICCE event. In his address, Wedemeyer spoke about the barriers that teachers and students faced because of large classes, ill prepared students, ill motivated students, watered-down curricula, lack of support from parents, the community, and society in general. He also noted the widespread misunderstanding of the role of the teacher in the schools, as well as the role of schools in society. A major point of his talk was that the individual student was not able to progress to his or her highest levels because of these barriers. Special classes were arranged for slower learners and classes in general were designed for so-called normal learners, but the student who was considered "superior" in many cases, did not have opportunities to progress, often suffered and actually did not receive proper training in educational skills. He cited a study that he had carried

out earlier in his career and noted that many students “could learn the lessons set for average children rapidly, sometimes just by listening in class” and “many bright children didn’t learn to study, to read, to carry out other skills anywhere near their capacity” (Wedemeyer, 1957b).

Correspondence education, according to research that he and Sylvia Haight had carried out, could address the individual needs of students to

be interested, challenged, stimulated by school-work and the opportunity for learning his need for an individualized method of learning readily adapted to the questioning mind, the darting insights, the large span of interest, the love of delving deeply, the respectful regard of difficult and demanding tasks; his need for a method that permits him to work rapidly, or to dally in fascination on some obscure or intriguing point; his need for a method that give him the independence he enjoys, yet provides guidance of a personal and intimate kind; his need for a method that enlists the student as a planner of the course with the instructor, yet that trains him well in the skills of reading, writing, observing, studying, analyzing, reporting (Wedemeyer, 1957b).

The previous comments illustrate what Wedemeyer believed could be accomplished through correspondence study. In concluding, he called for schools at all levels to recognize the existence of the individual differences of children (in this talk, he focused on “Superior” students) and to adapt correspondence teaching methods to these individual differences so that enrichment and acceleration could be possible. In this talk, it is interesting to note that Wedemeyer also discusses the independent learner, noting that superior students tend to be better independent learners.

In 1961, in preparation for the upcoming ICCE event, Wedemeyer received a letter from the President of the American School, E. C. Estabrooke, asking him if he would serve on the committee along with Gayle Childs for a panel discussion on “Supervised Correspondence Study” at the next ICCE event, which was to be held at Gearhart-by-the-Sea in Oregon, in the

United States between October 22 and October 27 that same year. Wedemeyer was also asked by John C. Villamue, who was the President of International Correspondence Schools, to be on a panel session with him at this ICCE 6th on "Learning Devices." Villamue (1961) told Wedemeyer, "To me, you have always exemplified some of the most progressive thinking in correspondence education." Wedemeyer accepted Villamue's offer, but because his European tour in 1961 ran longer than he had expected, he had to withdraw and was not able to attend the conference. Art Krival of Wisconsin was asked to stand-in for Wedemeyer and ended up being the representative at the ICCE Conference.

ICCE and CEC. In January 1965, I. J. Sloos (1965), President of the Council of European Correspondence Schools (CEC) wrote to Wedemeyer and told him that "On the ground of my feelings of friendship for you I am taking the liberty to send you a copy of my letters to Mr. Donald D. Cameron, president of I.C.C.E. and to Mr. David Lockmiller of N.H.S.C." Sloos asked Wedemeyer for his opinion on a proposal that would create an international correspondence study organization that would combine ICCE, NHSC, CEC (Europe's largest organization with 30 of the largest correspondence schools from 12 countries as members). Sloos (1964) proposed that the new organization would have stricter membership requirements that would "exclude and isolate the bad spirits in the world of education by correspondence." Sloos (1964) believed that there was a movement underway for correspondence schools in Europe become "the fourth segment in the educational system of each European country."

Wedemeyer (1965e) told Sloos that he was "pleased to endorse the idea and will do whatever you think is appropriate to suggest it at the Stockholm Conference." He indicated that he thought that the idea was a good one but that the "greatest difficulty this scheme will have for acceptance in the ICCE is the setting of standards for both regional and international membership. There will be some strong forces to place admission standards at the lowest possible level."

During June 13-17 of 1965, the ICCE group met in Stockholm, Sweden for their seventh conference. More than 200 delegates from 31 countries attended. This conference was the first ICCE that was held in Europe and Donald Cameron was President, with Vice-Presidents Renée Erdos, F. Lloyd Hansen, Mitoji Nishimoto, and John Villume. Wedemeyer was on the planning committee and he and Sven Hartmen, a vice-president of ICCE, wrote to each other on several occasions to plan. Hartman suggested to Wedemeyer that there should be a short training program on correspondence before the conference, and Wedemeyer in turn recommended that John Davies, F. Lloyd Hansen and Gayle Childs would be good candidates as instructors for the course. From April 9 to June 7, before the conference, Wedemeyer was in England as the first Kellogg Fellow in Adult Education at Oxford. Sven Hartman was asked during the spring of 1965 to take over as director of NKI-skolan, in Stockholm. NKI-skolan, which was a chartered company that offered correspondence courses, and Hermods, a foundation that also offered correspondence courses, had recently merged. (Bunker, 1998; Hartman, 1965; ICCE, 1965; Wedemeyer, 1965b, 1965c).

Participants at the conference were invited to Hermods for a visit on June 18, where they attended several demonstrations and sessions, had lunch, and toured the institution.

Wedemeyer was also the keynote speaker at the Stockholm ICCE event, and he chose the topic of "Correspondence Education in the World of today: A General Survey of the Field. Ideas, Principles, trends, New Developments." To prepare for this address, Wedemeyer had conducted a worldwide survey, and the ICCE conference themes emerged from his work. The main themes that he found were:

- 1) the inquiry into new methods, new technologies and their uses in correspondence education, the integration of mass media of communication, and the improvement of instruction by correspondence;
- 2) the linking of correspondence education with regular, formal school instruction;

- 3) the use of correspondence education in the continuing education of adults;
- 4) research and experimentation in correspondence education of adults;
- 5) correspondence education in developing countries, and improving the qualifications and acceptance of correspondence education (Bunker, 1998; ICCE, 1965).

A survey on research in correspondence instruction was also presented by Ripley Sims of USAFI. Wedemeyer took over 30 pages of notes during the conference. This conference also brought Wedemeyer together with Börje Holmberg of Sweden and Otto Peters of Germany. Peters would eventually travel to the United States and would meet with Wedemeyer in Wisconsin. This conference also provided Holmberg and Wedemeyer opportunities to become better acquainted.

Eighth ICCE conference in Paris bolsters UNESCO relationship. President Renée Erdos presided over the 1969 ICCE in Paris which was held at UNESCO House between May 10-23. Vice-presidents for this term were Börje Holmberg, Mitoji Nishimoto, I. J. Sloos, Solomon Inquai, and Charles Wedemeyer. Holmberg gave a presentation on educational technology at the conference. ICCE began an official affiliation with UNESCO in 1967 after several years of negotiations. Prior to this, UNESCO had an informal relationship with ICCE and had provided funding to some of the ICCE members throughout the years from such countries as India, Uganda, Malaysia, and Algeria for travel expenses and conference fees. Formal affiliation and status C ranking finally came after ICCE membership in 1965 grew to the point that their geographical representation that was more diverse, and ICCE also worked with UNESCO to find ways to provide educational support through correspondence study in the endeavor to meet the goal of educating children around the world (Bunker, 1998, 2003).

Wedemeyer as President during the ninth ICCE. Immediately following this conference, Wedemeyer, who was now President of ICCE, began preparing for the Ninth ICCE meeting in 1972 in Warrenton, Virginia. Additionally, after the Paris conference was over,

Wedemeyer began work on further elevating the status of ICCE with UNESCO from “C” to “B”. One of the first things he did was to set in motion the designation of Holmberg as ICCE’s Special Representative to UNESCO. Wedemeyer believed that there were two main reasons for elevating the UNESCO relationship. First, UNESCO could provide funding for the ICCE for publications and central organization, and second, UNESCO grants would enable ICCE to carry out demonstration projects. “I shall of course help from this end,” Wedemeyer told Holmberg, “but believe you will be able to do a better job from your location, your knowledge and ability at diplomacy, and your ability in speaking and understanding French.” He continued,

I have the highest regard for your competence, and complete confidence in your judgment. The UNESCO liaison will not prevent, later on, your being involved also in the development of ... the 9th Conference. I am well aware that the nominating committee strongly recommended you to be considered (even though not formally designated) as the First Vice-President. Hence I should like to place you in a most prominent and visible position as we plan the next conference, for I believe the membership will probably want you as its next President (Wedemeyer, 1970a).

Holmberg accepted Wedemeyer’s offer, and that Spring of 1970, Holmberg was charged with improving the relationship status and with negotiating grants for demonstration projects with UNESCO.

Educational diffusion and social application of satellite telecommunications

(EDSAT). One of those projects was a demonstration that would involve a collaboration of Educational Diffusion and Social Application of Satellite Telecommunications (EDSAT), UNESCO, and ICCE. EDSAT was a project that Wedemeyer had been working on with Richard G. Lawson at the University of Wisconsin. The use of satellites for educational purposes was in its earliest stages. It was only in 1965 that the first “Early Bird satellite” was launched. Its orbit was stationery and was located high above the Atlantic Ocean off of the coast of Brazil. The life

of this satellite was only one and a half years and it had the capacity to handle 240 telephone lines. Its capacity was so limited that if a television signal was to be routed via this satellite, the telephone lines would have to be rerouted (Schramm, 1968). These early satellites were used for ground communications systems and these systems were connected to one another via other low-power satellites. They were used for telephone, television, teletype, and facsimile. In 1967, two Intelsat satellites were placed in orbit over the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. These had twice the power of the Early Bird satellite and because of their strategic location, they were capable of connecting ships in the Atlantic.

The exploration of applications of satellite technology can be traced to The International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) that was founded in 1931 as a non-governmental organization which was meant to serve humanity through scientific research (ICSU, 2010). In 1952, ICSU began to plan for a period of high solar activity which would reach a high point between 1957 and 1958, and by 1954, the council called for nations to launch artificial satellites that could map the Earth's surface and research this activity. A year later, the United States announced plans to launch such a satellite, however on October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union surprised the world by launching the Sputnik I satellite; and then in November, launched Sputnik II. The United States followed with the launch of Explorer I on January 31, 1958 the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was created by Congress in July 1958 (Garber, 2007).

In January 1969, principal investigators Wedemeyer and Lawson (1969) had released an EDSAT Statement of Purpose document which described EDSAT as “an all-University facility, based on the Madison Campus and affiliated with the Space Science and Engineering Center which places prominently in its focus the problems relating to satellite in their educational and social applications.”

The objectives of the Center were:

1. To provide a focus for multidisciplinary research and training in such uses of space telecommunications technology as are related to education and additional social applications;
2. to explore problems in the use of satellites for transcultural, international links between institutions and scholars;
3. to explore the social and educational implications and applications of space telecommunications in the context of other educational media, with emphasis on the education of the adult learner;
4. to stimulate and develop studies of space law, with special reference to international telecommunications;
5. to design and test means for the evaluation and assessment of the social logical and educational impact of space telecommunications;
6. to work with others in developing a "software technology" for the design of educational materials and activities to be diffused via "hardware" and media;
7. to make utilization of the "software" (materials and activities) the basis for hardware and media development, particularly in respect to design of future educational satellites;
8. to establish an information clearinghouse which will provide for the collection, annotation and selective dissemination of information for use within the headset center, and to develop the capability of the clearinghouse to meet the information needs of center – connected research personnel in the U.S. and abroad, especially through the publication of special bibliographies;
9. to become part of an information network which can utilize the resources of other institutions domestically and internationally in pursuit of common education goals.

The center's objectives emphasized that both software and hardware should act as a total system and that the center did not intend to address individual or local class room level applications. The center would concern itself initially with institution – to institution continuing education and higher education applications. Conferencing, space law, protection of telecommunications frequencies for educational purposes, and ultimately, instructional component that would train students and would provide scholars with research facilities.

Wedemeyer proposed that an EDSAT demonstration take place at the UNESCO/AID/ECA Conference that was to be held in Ethiopia the following year, in 1971. A meeting between the new Director of EDSAT, Dr. Delbert Smith and Holmberg was set up in Europe in May.

Demonstrations such as this one were meant to combine the “oldest form of independent study with the newest medium” (Wedemeyer, 1970b). Wedemeyer wanted to set up the demonstration in Africa with Mr. Edokpayi, but there were challenge such as coming up with travel expenses. Wedemeyer had hoped that Edokpayi could assist with funding for his travel, but instead he had to find a way to get funds through ICCE. Wedemeyer (Wedemeyer, 1970a) sent a short letter to Holmberg in July of 1970 to ask if he might be able to “push the correspondence study-satellite proposal at UNESCO,” and a month later, with more urgency in the tone and with a longer explanation, Wedemeyer further explained the situation and asked if Holmberg might raise the issue with UNESCO before Holmberg’s scheduled October visit (Wedemeyer, 1970a). Wedemeyer needed to schedule an hour and a half of reserved time for the satellite with NASA by September, and the estimated amount for travel costs was between \$12,000-15,000.

The second main phase of the EDSAT scheme was to include additional feasibility experiments and demonstrations that included international conferences. These conferences included specific fields such as education, anthropology, sociology, law, economics, business,

and political science. Other conferences would deal with technological design parameters for the application of satellite technology. The funding for these would come from the University of Wisconsin Extension and the Space Science and Engineering Center in Madison, and the completion date for the former conferences phase was January 31, 1973. The latter phase was to be completed by September 31, 1973. A final phase would be developed from the lessons learned from the previous four years of implementation, study and review. The culmination of this experiment was to include the establishment of a consortium of Universities, or of a Center for the Study of Intercultural Education that would facilitate teaching, research and service for the satellite program.

Documentation was not found to ascertain whether or not the EDSAT demonstration ever took place in Ethiopia. The full scope of the EDSAT program is an area for future research.

Wedemeyer did carry out satellite demonstrations in 1975 as a consultant for the U.S. State Department. He was sent on a trip through Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Japan so that he could lecture and consult on the use of satellites for education. During his visits to these countries, he demonstrated the use of satellites by teaching his regular seminar at the University of Madison Wisconsin via satellite. While in Indonesia, Wedemeyer's demonstration was held in the government's largest concert auditorium, and it was covered by newspapers, radio, and television reporters. Wilson Thiede (1975), Provost for University Extension at the University of Wisconsin, reported that:

One Indonesian educator who had heard Wedemeyer in Surabaya traveled 20 hours on his own funds to hear him a second time in Jakarta. Radio Indonesia, in an almost unheard-of gesture of friendliness, reserved its major studio, technical staff, and largest auditorium for Wedemeyer's demonstration and lecture. Another man walked all the way from his village so that he could give support to Wedemeyer's concepts of mutual cultural interdependence through opportunity and access for continued learning.

UNESCO category B status for ICCE approved. Holmberg met with UNESCO representatives and the relationship with UNESCO progressed. One letter from Holmberg to Manuel Jimenez, Esq., the Director of Relations with Member States and International Organizations and Programmes with UNESCO, addresses whether or not ICCE had done anything in support of UNESCO's "International Year for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination." Holmberg (1971a) told Jimenez, "The International Council on Correspondence Education has member organizations in all parts of the world. The representatives of these organizations belong to various races. The colour of their skin is and has always been regarded as completely immaterial ..." and "As the question of race does not immediately concern our activities we have done nothing in particular in support ... with the exception of the multi-racial membership of our training activities and conferences" (Holmberg, 1971a). He noted that among their officials there were people of color.

Wedemeyer also met with UNESCO officials and reported on November 17, 1971 to Holmberg that he had had "several good meetings" in Paris with UNESCO. In December that same year, Holmberg (1971b) congratulated Wedemeyer on procuring UNESCO promises of funding that would "enable ICCE to start new activities," saying "Your discussion with Unesco was a great success and we are all indebted to you. Further news and suggestions will be most welcome. You are doing a great job."

By 1972, the Executive Committee announced that UNESCO had approved the category B status (Bunker, 1998). Because of the possibilities of better funding, leading up to the conference, Wedemeyer was able to lead the first real effort to bolster the membership base and to expand its mailing list. ICCE had begun to expand its list in 1969 but because of lack of funding, had to cut its list back. Membership chairpersons were appointed to recruit members from their represented areas around the world, including the Caribbean and Central America, Eastern Europe, Israel, Japan, Mexico, North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean, South Africa, the

United Kingdom, and the USSR (Wedemeyer, 1971c). ICCE was also funded to conduct two studies for UNESCO, and through the University of Wisconsin, Ripley Sims carried out the research projects, which were eventually presented at the New Delhi ICCE meeting in 1978 (Bunker, 1998). UNESCO also offered to provide a consultant to help with conference planning as well as providing funds “for the preparation of a directory of projects of correspondence education and three case studies, one of which”... was a “project in Guinea, combining radio and P.I. for in-service training, ...” including studies of “combined media approach to correspondence education in developing countries” (Sauliere, 1971).

The 1975 conference was held in Brighton, United Kingdom from May 12-15, with Börje Holmberg as President. Wedemeyer was one of the Vice-Presidents. At the conference business meeting, there was a discussion about the need for a common terminology and there was a recommendation that the group should develop a dictionary similar to one that the European Council for Education by Correspondence had developed. Wedemeyer was in favor of a move to change the name of ICCE to ICDE, but this did not materialize at this conference. The Brighton conference had originally been scheduled to be held in Japan, but because support fell through, the location was changed to Brighton.

At the 1978 New Delhi ICCE meeting, President David Young presided along with Vice-Presidents Mary McPartlin, Otto Peters, Bakhshish Singh, Kevin Smith and Hafiz Wali. Also attending and presenting, among all participants, were Börje Holmberg and John S. Daniel. Wedemeyer, now retired, attended but did not present. Dr. John Daniel of Athabasca University reported on Hermes satellite experiments that had been taking place in Canada during 1976-1977. Hermes satellites were developed for the Canadian government and were used primarily for one-way communication (Daniel, 1978). At this conference, Professor Bakhshish Singh was also named President for the next three to four years (ICCE, 1978). According to Wedemeyer, his proposal to change the name or the organization to ICDE was again refused (Wedemeyer, 1983a).

In 1982, John Daniel was now President of ICCE and the organization changed its name to the International Council for Distance Education (ICDE) when it met in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, for the 12th world conference. According to the advance copy of a talk to NUCEA members in Reno, Nevada the following year, Daniel (1983a) explained that the ICCE group “felt that the term correspondence did not reflect the growing diversity of approaches to study outside the classroom”, and he told the NUCEA group that “thanks especially to the efforts of Keegan, there is broad agreement on what is meant by distance education whereas this is less true of other terms in common use such as independent study, open learning, home study and external study.” Daniel (1983a) cited characteristic of distance education according to Keegan’s analysis:

the separation of teacher and learner; the involvement of and educational organizations; the use of media, including print; mechanisms for two-way to ship this month, communication; learning as individuals instead of in groups; and the industrialization of institutional processes.

Daniel (1983a) also intended to tell the group that, Simply put, university distance education in the U.S. is not as well-known as it should be in international circles. You should do something about this since, as I shall argue, the contribution you can make to the international development of the field will be particularly important in the 1980s.

Daniel (1983a) continued,

The most significant event in the history of the external degree movement took place almost twenty years ago. It was the creation of the British Open University. Many countries, including your own and Australia, have a longer history of external studies. Others, such as France and the Soviet Union, already had larger systems in place when the Open University was set up. But resentment is out of place. The Open University put

distance education on the map and gave it an international respectability it never had before. The strength of the British government's political commitment, the integration of broadcasting, the size of the student body and the academic quality of the operation caught the imagination of educators around the world. Many from the U.S. were among those who made the pilgrimage to Milton Keynes during the 1970s to admire this new phenomenon.

He included examples of other countries copying the model, and noted that the model had not worked in the U.S. with the University of Mid-America attempt. Because of the international explosion of Open Universities around the world, Daniel (1983a) argued, the United States had played a "less prominent role in international discussions than they deserved" and that it was time "for Americans to be less bashful." "After all," he said, "the Australians, who like you did not create new open universities, remained ever-present at international gatherings and continued to make important contributions to the literature of distance education."

In the remainder of his speech, he talked about the qualities and the "organizational headaches" of the new Open University model, and covered the topics of Staff, Faculty, Instruction, Services and Research and Evaluation. Daniel said that since the U.S. had few single mode institutions, "the U.S. naturally took a back seat at conferences that had such institutions as their focus." He urged the U.S. attendees to become more active at the international level in the coming decade and that they could offer expertise in the area technology and creating relationships between public and private sectors (Daniel, 1983a).

Wedemeyer received an advance copy of Daniel's speech from Norm Lowenthal, and Wedemeyer wrote to Daniel in March of 1983, expressing concern that

your present text might not have the effect you desire. It may alienate, more than attract, American I/S people to support and work with ICDE. I am very concerned that American I/S people are not more active in ICDE, that they do not actively participate in the

building of adequate ICDE documentation centers, that their publications and reports did not apparently reach networks outside of the U.S., and that publications outside the U.S. do not properly penetrate your network, and that American I/S efforts seem to be hesitating on the edge of change while elsewhere change goes on at an unprecedented pace (Wedemeyer, 1983a).

Wedemeyer (1983a) also told Daniel, you're relatively new to ICCE – ICDE, and may not be aware of the history and affiliation of Americans ICCE global leadership from the 1940s to about the time of the Brighton ICC conferences in 1975. You may also be unaware of American innovation in the 1960s that led to the founding of the OU. ... If you point to the OU as the start of a new show in distance education (rightly) and the effect of change from ICCE – ICDE, and seem to chastise American I/S people, you are caught in a dilemma. Many of the I/S people in your audience will not be unaware of American leadership in both these events, and your failure to mention these connections will seem ungracious, if not parochial.

Wedemeyer urged Daniel to ask the audience what ICDE could do to help Americans linkup with ICDE leaders and become more involved internationally. He also included background information on past American ICCE members who were active and who provided leadership to the ICCE, including: Knute Brody (one of the founders of ICCE and only lifetime honorary president); Gayle Childs (member for 20 years who prepared the ICCE summary of research in the field from the University of Nebraska); Ripley Sims (longtime ICCE activist, worked for USAFI, did a UNESCO and ICCE sponsored three-year summary of distance education that was published in 1977. Wedemeyer (1983a) also said that the study “set the standard for scholarship in the field but unfortunately is not well-known even among ICCE – ICDE people”); Mary Lou McPartlin (former ICCE VP and active committee member from Loyola University Chicago); Betsy Powell (active ICCE committee member and “infatigable

worker” from the University of Georgia, also retired); Sandy Hansen (from the University of Minnesota, a “strong committee member” who died following the Stockholm ICCE meeting in 1965); and Vivian Moore (past president of ICCE from the University of Oregon).

Wedemeyer also noted that there were three past ICCE presidents who were from American universities: Knute Brody, Vivian Moore, and himself. He also contested the point that Americans were bashful and pointed out that Americans had contributed publications. He argued that international documentation centers must be equally at fault for not hunting down American publications, just as much as Americans could be said to be at fault for not including international resources (Wedemeyer, 1983a).

Wedemeyer (1983a) expressed to Daniel that it appeared that he was implying a lack of American interest in distance education, and countered that Americans were "so intent on studying their own problems, that they have not seen the extent to which ICDE could help them find solutions." He pointed out that parochialism among distance educators existed inside and outside of the United States, and he cautioned Daniel to be cognizant that his present draft contained a bibliography that might strike Americans as confirmation of the rather narrow internationalism in ICDE, since it excluded American publications.

Only giving Keegan credit for the definition of distance education was not accurate, Wedemeyer told Daniel, and his summary of distance education relied on European and Commonwealth sources. “As a result, perhaps earlier ICCE and American contributions were overlooked,” Wedemeyer (1983a) noted, “But that's what happens when networks become separated and sources lost.”

In a pre-World Wide Web world, it is important to note that social and professional networks were more difficult to establish and to maintain. Dialogue between colleagues who were separated geographically took place mainly through letters, and days, weeks or months might pass in between replies and responses.

The Wedemeyer-Daniel exchange also provides another illustration of why Wedemeyer and others in the field have a marginal presence in historical accounts. A generational change of leadership in the field that was taking place and many of the contemporaries that Wedemeyer worked with either retired or were winding down their careers, leaving the way open for a new generation of leaders to emerge. These new leaders were making a name for themselves and were pushing the field into the future in terms of theory and practice. Keegan, for example, made a contribution to the field by studying the various definitions of distance education that came before him and consolidated and synthesized them into a working definition that gained wide acceptance among his colleagues. Holmberg, Moore and Peters also continued to develop their theories and to contribute to practice and scholarship in the field.

Wedemeyer (1983a) offered an additional explanation to Daniel for the drop off of American interest in ICDE, suggesting that because the Birmingham conference was invitational, it excluded Americans who were not involved in Open education and distance education.

Wedemeyer “wondered whether the lack of representation of I/S people at Birmingham” had

led to the splitting off the Americans from the new movement in ICCE – ICDE. Some Americans did attend the Birmingham conference, but there were mainly people who have not been active within NUEA affairs or in ICCE, and the institutions they represented were so shaky that they were in no position to supply full leadership in the U.S., let alone internationally. But a new network in DE was established at Birmingham: unfortunately this network did not effectively reach back into the U.S.

Wedemeyer (1983a) emphasized that there was a long time uneasy tension between commercial and university – public distance education institutions. In the past, some American distance education university people have can't read this word ICCE came of the feeling that commercial schools might dominate. I have also noted the same spirit in Britain. Separate associations for commercial proprietary

and public University people grew up, in Europe and America. ICCE was the only viable bridge between the two an extremely important for that (as well as for other) reasons.

With the coming of ICDE I have been amused to hear:

‘this (ICDE) is the beginning of a new era of commercial school dominance.’

‘Now (ICDE) is becoming the creature of the University academics and public institutions.’

Wedemeyer further proposed to Daniel that there was a need for an international Council that could draw from both the profit and non-profit sectors that were concentrating on distance education.

On March 21, 1983 Daniel (1983b) wrote back to Wedemeyer thanking him for his "helpful letter" and noted that his style was meant to be

controversial in writing and conciliatory in speaking and it is certainly my intention to cajole the American on I/S fraternity back into ICDE rather than alienate them by an approach suggesting that only the present ICDE establishment have the map showing the buried treasure.... and, as I tried to say in the paper, I believe that the I/S in the U.S. will derive long-term strength from the very diffuse this of its organization. These distance projects elsewhere that rely heavily on monolithic governmental structures are, in my view, really more fragile plants.

Your letter was in no way critical and ungracious. I am indebted to you for taking the time to write it. I shall try to be worthy of your concern when I deliver my address in Reno.

It has been over a quarter of a century since Daniel delivered the speech in Reno, and this researcher was unable to locate any records that show whether or not Daniel changed the text of his speech, but according to a speech that he gave at a UCEA (formerly NUCEA) conference in 2007, Daniel implies that he may no longer have a copy or that a copy of the speech may not be

readily available. In a reference to a speech that he gave to NUCEA in the 1990s he indicates that he had looked over the text of that speech, and notes that

my CV tells me that I gave a keynote address to your conference in Reno, Nevada, back in 1983. I may well have made other appearances at NUCEA but I found long ago that life moves too fast for me to remember to put all my conference appearances on my CV (Daniel, 2007).

As part of this research study, an inquiry was made with the Syracuse University archives where NUCEA records are stored but no confirmation one way or the other as to the existence of a transcript of the speech has been received. Because this research is limited to archival research and to secondary documents that are readily available in publicly accessible sources, Sir John Daniel was not contacted directly on this matter. This is an important area of future research that this researcher plans to follow up on for clarification of Daniel's eventual actions.

The eight page handwritten letter from Wedemeyer to Daniel shows that even in his retirement, Wedemeyer remained concerned about the field of distance education and about his hope that a collegial and collaborative international network would exist. The correspondence also shows evidence of Wedemeyer's belief in the importance of future research and of understanding historical research. Additionally, the exchange between Wedemeyer and Daniel provides some insight into politics at ICDE and in the field.

The exchange also illustrates that Wedemeyer was concerned his own and others' legacies. Wedemeyer gave credit to his colleagues for the work they had done on behalf of the ICCE. While he does tell Daniel that he does not want to appear to be "self-serving," one can imagine that Wedemeyer (1983a) was concerned about his legacy and about the legacy of others, since ICCE was an organization that he had been a part of for the past three decades. When one sees the volume of letters and imagines the amount of work that Wedemeyer did on behalf of ICCE, it is not hard to imagine that he felt an allegiance to the organization.

Chapter Summary

Wedemeyer played a leadership role internationally in the field in both theory and scholarship. From his earliest days at the University of Wisconsin as Director of Correspondence Study, he was in contact with both students, faculty and administrators from around the world, and he increased the number of international students during his tenure as Director.

In the early 1960s, Wedemeyer toured 14 countries in Europe under a Ford Foundation grant that had as one its goals the development of an interdisciplinary international network of institutions and individuals. In his work with USAFI, Wedemeyer expanded the network. Projects such as the correspondence program in Venezuela not only expanded the international network, but gave him experience in setting up correspondence study systems in another country. As Oxford's first Kellogg Fellow, he met scores of educators, practitioners, and politicians and further developed a network as he lectured and held seminars about his system views on correspondence education. As a consultant at UNISA, Wedemeyer met with myriad people throughout South Africa. Wedemeyer also used the EDSAT program as a means of connecting people around the world.

From the early 1960s until his retirement, Wedemeyer was involved at ICCE on the Executive Committee, and four of those years he served as President of ICCE. In all of the aforementioned projects, and in his contacts with colleagues around the world, he urged them to become involved in ICCE. There are many examples, as illustrated by the following.

Through the years Wedemeyer was contacted by many individuals representing international universities. An example of this type of international networking began in August of 1968, when Bakhshish Singh, M.A. from Punjabi University in Putalia contacted Wedemeyer to tell him about a new Directorate of Correspondence Courses, including a pre-university courses, a B.A. three year degree, Parveshika (Preliminary Punjabi), and Gyani (Honours in Punjabi). He told Wedemeyer that

As your institution is a pioneer in the field of correspondence education, and you possess long and considerable experience of running the scheme so successfully we look to you for help and guidance in our new venture. We shall be grateful if you could kindly send us information about your scheme of correspondence education, a set of lessons in the humanities subjects, and any other reports or material which you think could be useful to us. You will be pleased to learn that the response from students for our correspondence courses has been very encouraging. We have already enrolled 1250 students and about 500 more are expected to join shortly. Thus the scheme is likely to be self-sufficient from the very first year (Singh, 1968).

Wedemeyer sent a study guide and other materials to Singh, and Singh soon involved his university in the ICCE. He attended the conference in 1972 and met Wedemeyer there, and later wrote

The success of the conference is primarily due to the keen personal interest that you took in everything connected with conference. I can say without any hesitation that the ICCE under your president ship has made a solid contribution raising the stature of the correspondence education all of the world (Singh, 1972).

Later in 1975, Singh invited Wedemeyer to contribute a paper entitled, "Institution Building and Evaluation" to a book of essays of which he was editor. Singh also became vice-president of ICCE and obtained the 11th World Conference venue in Delhi, November 1978.

This example is but one of many to be uncovered from the Wedemeyer archives. There is correspondence between Wedemeyer and hundreds of individuals from at least 35 countries, and further research into the human network has the potential to uncover a valuable aspect of the history of open and distance education.

This chapter has also illustrated Wedemeyer's use of new technologies as a means of connecting educators and students. Wedemeyer believed that distance education would not only

open up doors to everyone in the world who wanted to learn, but that a more peaceful world would emerge as the global community interacted and gained a greater understanding of one another through education and cooperation (Wedemeyer, 1965a).

Chapter 5

Conclusions

This chapter synthesizes the previous chapters and brings the study full circle back to the research questions that have guided this study.

In Chapter 1 it was established that distance education scholars and historians have credited Wedemeyer with playing a leadership role in the evolution of open and distance education but while Wedemeyer's contributions have been reported in myriad journals, books, web sites and in conference presentations and proceedings, there has been minimal substantive report or analysis of his contributions. Scholars such as Börje Holmberg, Michael G. Moore, and Otto Peters, all contemporaries of Wedemeyer, have asserted that Wedemeyer played a role in their personal careers and that he was also a major figure in the field of adult education and Open and distance Education (Black, 2004; Diehl, 2009; Moore, 1987, 1999, 2004, 2008, 2009; Moore & Cozine, 2000; O. Peters, 1998; O. Peters & Keegan, 1994). Distance education historians such as Von Pittman (Pittman, 1990a, 1990b, 2001, 2003a, 2003b) and Watkins and Wright (Watkins & Wright, 1991) concluded that Wedemeyer made early and significant contributions to scholarship and to the open education movement. Wedemeyer and the AIM program have been credited in contributing to the OUUK's success (Black, 2004; Daniel & Mackintosh, 2003; Moore & Kearsley, 2005; Watkins & Wright, 1991). Wedemeyer's contributions, however, have been covered in a summarized and mainly descriptive manner. The works mentioned above have been cited by numerous future authors, with little or no analysis.

Surveys of the field and literature reviews by the authors mentioned in the previous paragraphs reveal that *New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study* (Wedemeyer & Childs, 1961), *The Brandenburg Memorial Essays* (Wedemeyer, 1963c, 1966f), or Wedemeyer's definition of Independent Study (Wedemeyer, 1971a, 1977) were early and significant

contributions to scholarship in the emerging professional field. Early publications such as these are fairly easy to trace. There was a dearth of research before Wedemeyer's time.

Wedemeyer's leadership in the field can also be traced and assumptions inferred by reporting the titles that he held at the University of Wisconsin (e.g. Director of Correspondence Study, Director of Instruction & Evaluation, Director of AIM, AIM Board, William H. Lighty Professor of Education), ICCE/ICDE (e.g. President, Executive Committee) or NUEA (e.g. Board of Directors, Chair of the Division of Independent Study). Similarly, one can scan Wedemeyer's vitae and note various honors and awards (e.g. Gayle Childs award, The Charles and Mildred Wedemeyer Award, Distinguished Service), consultations (e.g. UNISA, Venezuela, OUUK), and appointments (e.g. First Kellogg Fellow at Oxford University, Governor's Commission on Education, Governor's Educational Advisory Committee).

From the above examples, one can draw a rather surface conclusion that Wedemeyer did indeed play a leadership role in the organizations and field that he was associated with, but by analyzing the "mass of evidence," one can ascertain a "graspable design," and these patterns that emerge provide us with a clearer understanding of the evolution of individuals, organizations and fields of study and practice (Barzun & Graff, 2004, p. 153). What has been gleaned from the patterns and relationships of the individuals and organizations discovered in the archives that are pertinent to Wedemeyer's leadership in open and distance education can also lead to plausible explanations of the social and political forces that played a part in the marginal presence of Wedemeyer's contributions in historical accounts.

The following two sections synthesize the evidence that has been presented in the previous chapters. The first section illustrates that the evidence does support the retrospective views of distance education scholars and historians that Wedemeyer played a leadership role in the evolution of the field, and the second section addresses the topic of Wedemeyer's marginal presence in historical accounts of the field.

Wedemeyer's Leadership Role in the Evolution of Open and Distance Education

Wedemeyer devoted over four decades of his life to the field of education. Starting out as a high school English teacher and then building on his teaching and curriculum building experience, he took on leadership positions that influenced thousands of people and influenced institutions throughout the world. At Racine Center in Wisconsin he turned the two year school into a central part of the community, and in so doing, he assisted the University of Wisconsin in creating one of its early successful satellite campuses. During World War II, he learned about correspondence education and designed, developed, and edited course books for U.S. Armed Forces personnel. During the next decade, he led one of the largest correspondence programs in the world at the University of Wisconsin and expanded its student base to include students from around the world. He developed the experimental program, AIM, which was an innovative approach in the field of distance education. He shared his ideas with colleagues around the globe, with individuals who would become OUUK planners, and he was a consultant at the OUUK before its doors opened. He was hired by UNISA to conduct an independent study of their single-mode distance education program. He consulted in Venezuela and influenced thousands there. Tens of thousands of students took courses at the University of Wisconsin under his directorship.

Wedemeyer was an early adopter of radio in education, television in education, and in researching and using satellites for education. He predicted the use of computers for educational purposes in the future, and predicted that non-traditional learners around the world would one day have access to educational opportunities.

His ideas about open education and the future of education were cultivated in the 1960s, and fifty years later, the world has embraced some of these ideas, and is still striving to bring the "education for all" vision to fruition. Over the past forty years, the OUUK model has been adopted by Open Universities all over the world. Wedemeyer's contributions played an important

role in the educational opportunities that have been opened up for millions of international students.

Wedemeyer's Efforts and Accomplishments Were Recognized by His Contemporaries

It is clear that in some historical accounts (which are addressed following this section), Wedemeyer's contributions have been under-reported or unmentioned, but this study reveals that Wedemeyer, in fact, *was* recognized as one of, and by some, as *the* most influential and knowledgeable people in the world in the field of correspondence education. Peters called him *the* expert, and Oxford University recognized Wedemeyer as an important figure and expert, inviting him to be the first Kellogg Fellow at their institution. His peers from around the world recognized him and elected him as president of the ICCE for 1969-1972. The University of South Africa called upon Wedemeyer to evaluate and make recommendations for the future of their University. The Carnegie Institute donated a generous amount of money for the AIM program. The University of Wisconsin created the William H Lighty professorship for Wedemeyer so that he could concentrate on research in the field of correspondence education. The OUUK hired him as a consultant during the early days at their new Milton Keynes campus in 1969.

In December 1969, Wedemeyer received the Gayle Childs Award at the Galaxy Conference on Adult Education in Washington, D.C. The AIM program also received an award (UWEX, 1969). In 1975 Wedemeyer was also nominated for the Joseph C. Wilson award in 1975.

In 1975 Wedemeyer was awarded an honorary doctorate by the OUUK, making him the third recipient of this honor, and putting him in the company of former recipients, Paulo Friere and Lady Plowden. Sir Edward Boyle named Plowden as chairman of the Central Advisory Council on Education, a United Kingdom committee on primary education in the 1960s, that was responsible for a progressive philosophical education changes.

In the presentation ceremony, the OUUK's Professor Walter James (1975) spoke about Wedemeyer's achievements and credited Wedemeyer with assembling "a theoretical base for the operation of adult and alternative teaching systems" and noted Wedemeyer's contributions to this OUUK system and to the field in general:

What's to come in open independent study for the adult learner is still unsure. What is sure is that Chuck Wedemeyer, who more than any other person secured lift-off for the vehicle, will be developing its guidance and control systems, and sending it further into the unknown, beyond the limit of its present orbit. Those whom such education has reached out to and touched owe more than they know and far more than they can repay to him. The Open University - an inheritor of his inspiration, a beneficiary of his advice, and a learner from his wisdom - has the privilege of offering a token on their behalf.

In its September 17, 1976 announcement of Wedemeyer's retirement after 36 years, University Extension at Wisconsin noted that Wedemeyer "helped found the British Open University" (UWEX, 1976). Clearly the University of Wisconsin wanted to support Wedemeyer's accomplishments, if only for the sake of the status of the university itself.

While it would not be valid to make a statement that suggests that Wedemeyer was recognized universally as the foremost authority in the field at the time, the evidence suggests that the most influential individuals and organizations in open and distance education of the time considered him to be just that. He was sought after as a consultant and speaker, his scholarship and research was widely cited, and his experimental program, AIM, was used as model for the OUUK (which became a model for scores of Open Universities that followed it). He was recognized as a leader who encouraged others to build quality programs, conduct research, to publish results, and to share those results in a collegial fashion for the greater good. The greater good to Wedemeyer was education for all, especially those learners who were the nontraditional learners who had to enter, as he put it, through the back door.

Wedemeyer's Marginal Presence in OUUK Historical Accounts

The most significant omission of Wedemeyer's contribution to the field is in the written histories of the OUUK that were published in Britain. Perry's account (Perry, 1976) of the origins of the open University are Anglo-centric and do not mention many of the people who worked with him at the OUUK during the beginning. He failed to mention Wedemeyer, but it is well documented that Wedemeyer was an invited guest who lived at Perry's Swan Cottage during the critical early months at Milton Keynes; and that he played a significant role in the planning and development of the new OUUK in 1969, and that years prior, Wedemeyer's ideas that he had developed earlier had circulated throughout the United Kingdom. Wedemeyer interviewed Walter Perry and Walter James in a BBC broadcast (*Conversations*, 1972) that was produced in 1972 and it is clear that the three knew each other well and that Wedemeyer had been present during the early days of planning at the OUUK.

Wedemeyer was invited by the OUUK because of his international expertise with systems and distance education programs that operated large scales. Wedemeyer was also the consultant that suggested that D. W. Stafford, the Secretary of the OUUK planning committee, should look at the UNISA model. Wedemeyer also shared his report about UNISA with others on the OUUK planning committee, including Walter James. Many of the characteristics of the OUUK (and even the early University of the Air proposal) resemble the AIM program that Wedemeyer planned, founded and led at the University of Wisconsin years earlier. Senior members of the OUUK did visit UNISA as he suggested (UNISA, 1975).

Wedemeyer's AIM program is also missing from the history of the University of Wisconsin that covers the years 1945-1971 (Cronon & Jenkins, 1999). The 1960s was a time of expansion at the University, and the University of Wisconsin system was restructured in 1965, only a year after AIM was underway. As was noted, this had an impact on AIM. Also, in 1965 Wedemeyer was invited to become the first Kellogg Fellow in adult education at Oxford, and

Robert Najem was named Director. What effect Wedemeyer's absence and change of leadership had is not clear from the research, although this would be an interesting topic to pursue.

While in the United Kingdom as Kellogg Fellow in 1965, Wedemeyer lectured at Oxford and eight other universities on a range of topics, primarily focused on independent study, and also told his colleagues about the AIM program which had begun year before. At that time, Prime Minister Harold Wilson, with the assistance of Jennie Lee and others, was in the process of conceiving what Wilson was calling the *University of the Air*. The Robbins report had come out in the UK and there was an undercurrent of public support for more democratization in education under the leadership of Wilson. Wedemeyer was invited to meet with Christopher Chataway, M. P., and others who were on the education committee in Parliament to discuss the development of a new higher education institution or system. The articulated instructional media concept was part of these discussions, as up to that point Wilson and others were focusing basically on educational television as a single medium for this new University.

After Wedemeyer returned to the United States, he kept in touch and provided informal consultation with individuals in Britain who were working on the new University. Chris Christodoulou was appointed as the open University secretary and shortly after, traveled to Wisconsin to meet with Wedemeyer. It was there that Wedemeyer shared the AIM report as well as Wedemeyer's report on the University of South Africa. Wedemeyer urged Christodoulou to go to South Africa, along with Walter Perry, so that they would be able to see the system that was in place at UNISA. Walter James, another person that Wedemeyer met during his visit as Kellogg Fellow at Oxford, was appointed as Dean/Director of educational studies at the OUUK, also contacted Wedemeyer concerning the open University during this time. Harold Wiltshire met Wedemeyer in 1965 before he became a member of the planning group for the OUUK. In 1969, after the formal charter gave life to the Open University, the Open University Council and Walter Perry invited Wedemeyer to come to Milton Keynes as a consultant. During this time,

Wedemeyer worked directly with Perry, the administrative staff and faculty. In addition, he gave lectures every week to faculty conducted a seminar in Milton Keynes and also attended a seminar with BBC producers and directors in London, as well as other open University and BBC employees.

The structure of the Open University that launched in 1971 shared many of the characteristics of the AIM program. These included course team development, emphasis on process in counseling and use of study centers, and an articulated media emphasis.

Because the AIM program ended after a four year experiment, some historians, in retrospect, have called it a failure. Some parts of the AIM program that had been evaluated were actually absorbed into the University of Wisconsin operating system. AIM was intended to be an experiment (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969). Viewed as such, with a beginning and an end, Wedemeyer referred to AIM and viewed the program as an experiment in education in which valuable lessons were learned, and in which some valuable questions were generated. Wedemeyer took these lessons and these questions and applied them – and shared them – with colleagues in England as a Kellogg Fellow when he visited colleges across the UK; in the publication of the articulated instructional media program publication *AIM: From Concept to Reality* (Wedemeyer & Najem, 1969); as a consultant for the University of South Africa; and as a consultant for the OUUK. It was Wedemeyer who provided key information not only about the systems that needed to be put into place, and about the technologies that could serve this new University in the United Kingdom, but also about the independent political structure and funding that was necessary for an organization such as the OUUK to ultimately succeed.

Why was mention of Wedemeyer absent from Perry's history of the open University? Certainly it was not because Wedemeyer played a minor role in the first days at Milton Keynes. Perry himself was no distance educator. He admits in interviews and in his book that he was not an authority in this area when he took the job as Vice Chancellor and that he had not even thought

about the concept much until 1968 (Conversations, 1972; Perry, 1976). Who at the open University at the time was an expert in correspondence study? Perry gives special mention to Harold Wiltshire of the Extramural Department at the University of Nottingham and to Michael Young of the National Extension College and to their “experimental” work with the BBC between 1963 and 1969. As has already been established, Wedemeyer met Wiltshire and Young years before the OUUK opened its doors and shared his knowledge about his early experiments with radio, television, and the AIM program that was already underway at the University of Wisconsin. It is true that Young had begun NEC to experiment during the early 1960s and was experimenting with using television with courses, but the NEC program did not develop into as sophisticated a model as what had been developed at the University of Wisconsin under Wedemeyer’s leadership.

Wedemeyer had also influenced Walter James as early as 1965. Wedemeyer spoke and shared his early television experimentation experiences as early as 1957 as chairman of the of the NUEA Correspondence Study Division Committee on Radio-TV. His friend and colleague, Gayle Childs, had received a grant from the Ford Foundation for \$365,000 in 1956 and was conducting research on the effectiveness of educational television linked to correspondence education. Wedemeyer had also presented a plan to NUEA for combining correspondence study with television in college level courses by 1957.

One may wonder whether national pride or ego played a part in the absence of Wedemeyer’s contributions in the first official history of the OUUK.

The forward to Perry’s (1976) historical account of the early years of the OUUK is written by former UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson, and it provides some insight into some of the social and political forces that may have been at play. Wilson referred to the OUUK as his “private hobby-horse” and like other high-level politicians before him who had projects of interest, he had been “determined to use the not inconsiderable resources of his office to get it

through, whatever the opposition” (H. Wilson, 1976, p. xi). He also claims to have sketched out the idea for the *University of the Air* in less than an hour during the first week of September in 1963. While this suggests that Wilson had a personal interest in preserving an historical account in which he prominently figured (and Wilson’s and Lee’s political leadership *was* a key piece of the OUUK’s creation), the last line of the Foreword also indicates a national interest. “This book,” Wilson (1976, p. xii) said, “tells how the grand concept came into being, how apparently unyielding new ground was broken, what the hopes and problems are for the future – but above all how Britain led the world into a historic new educational dimension.”

Wilson (1976, p. xii) also makes a point to say that since the founding of the OUUK, “especially in different parts of the United States,” he had been “besieged by University Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, and Presidents of the U.S. to tell them more about the achievements of the Open University.” He continued, “For years, too, I have been told that it will not be long before every State in the Union will have its own Open University, or be in some way affiliated with one” (H. Wilson, 1976, p. xii).

Perry (1976, pp. 7-8) does note that “earlier and more extensive progress” was made in the United States in experimentation with television linked to correspondence programs, but despite “enormous progress,” the State-based structure of the educational system had prevented an organization like the OUUK from emerging. This would have been a fitting paragraph for Perry to include Wedemeyer’s contributions, or at least to mention the AIM program at the University of Wisconsin in the historical record; however as previously indicated, this history of the beginnings of the OUUK was written without any mention of Wedemeyer.

It was Wedemeyer who consulted with Walter Perry and Walter James, and who taught faculty, conducted seminars and imparted the knowledge that he had gained from working with CIC, NUEA, ICCE, UNISA, AIM, and the correspondence program at the University of

Wisconsin (among others) at Milton Keynes when the grounds were still muddy and the buildings were under construction before the OUUK opened (Conversations, 1972).

It has been noted that the origin of the term *open learning* and *open education* has been attributed to the OUUK. The OUUK was designed to be a single-mode distance education institution, and at the time, it would have been referred to as a correspondence school. The term open education has come to be associated with distance education, especially in Europe and in countries that have Open Universities. Black (2004, p. 145) reports that in an interview, Michael G. Moore proposed that the term open learning was used as “a slogan” and as a way for the OUUK “to separate themselves from correspondence educators and to establish a new public domain of distance education for political reasons and self-interest.”

The use of the word “open” before “learning” or “education” as a slogan has also been attributed to the progressive educational movement in the United States in the late 1960s, but Hyland (1979) asserts that all origins actually point to British primary schools. Hyland (1979) also points to Scheffler who theorized that the use of the term open education can be seen as a rallying symbol (Scheffler, 1960) and that the social and cultural objectives can be served by their use (Scheffler, 1964). The open and distance learning movement, and institutions such as the OUUK are also clearly heirs of the adult education movement, which from its early days, has been “characterized by statements of what adult education and adult educators should be, ought to be, and must be. In other words, the language ... projects a compelling vision for both society and adult education’s place in society” (Thompson, 1996, p. 143).

Six Distance Education Theorists: An Example of Marginalized Presence

The following section is included as an example of how the evolution of the field can be influenced by publications, how history in a field and of individuals’ contributions to that field are interpreted, how politics can play a part, and how incorrect myths can be perpetuated.

Primarily based on correspondence that was exchanged between Wedemeyer and Desmond

Keegan in 1983, this example also illustrates the importance of historical research and provides insight into Wedemeyer's concern about his legacy and that of his peers. Some of Wedemeyer's longer passages from his letter are included so that the reader can get better sense of his own voice in this historical account.

Desmond Keegan is a widely cited author and has been a prolific contributor to the history and definitions of distance education. Keegan's 1980 definition of distance education became the most cited definition when he synthesized French Law and prior scholars' (Holmberg, Moore, Peters) definitions of distance education and published his analysis (Moore & Kearsley, 2005).

In January of 1983, Keegan sent Wedemeyer a copy of his new book *Six Distance Education Theorists* (Keegan, 1983b). In his note to Wedemeyer, Keegan (Keegan, 1983a) wrote "I hope this is fair, please let me know if it isn't."

It took almost nine months for Wedemeyer (1983b) to write back, and when he did, he told Keegan that he had read it "with great interest and admiration; you have made an important contribution to the literature of distance education. I had thought that we were not yet at the point where theory could be so clearly analyzed and differentiated."

Wedemeyer (1983b) also apologized, noting that,

I should have written to you immediately to express my admiration and appreciation. But each time I set out to write to you, I found it difficult to respond to your fairness question. I believe that your analysis is "fair" but somewhat incomplete. I delayed writing to you because I could not bring myself to write something that might seem self-serving to an esteemed colleague. I have always thought that one's work must speak for itself, and have always avoided the nit-picking academic dispute between colleagues who seem to me to go nowhere because they are bred upon self-serving in competitive motives.

Wedemeyer (1983b) continued,

yet, I confess (at last) that I have some misgivings about the six distance education theorists and distance education. These misgivings have nothing to do with "fairness" but do have to do with the completeness or scholarly objectivity. In herein where I feel very uncomfortable, and fear any comments I make will seem self-serving,... And incomplete reference to the citation of ideas treated, I have to refer to my own writings, covering a period from 1955 on. The responses to my work (in the Theorists and DE books) are limited apparently, to publications in the 1970s, plus learning at the back door in 1981. But I have been writing in this field since 1955. (I did some writing peripheral to the field in the 1940s, connected with the war-time use (U.S. Navy) of correspondence study, but I do not regard this as focused on historical education). I must also observe that apparently the complete range of my writings is not known outside of the United States. Until about the 1970s few people, anywhere, collected and documented writings in this field ... Instead, in the early years, publications were frequently fugitive. And today, copies are (in most cases of early works) available only by duplication in micro-fiche. So it is understandable that any analysis of my work by persons not personally acquainted with the early years would be limited to recent writings only, which happens to be collected and documentation centers. ERIC is no help, either, since ERIC did not collect writings in this field early on, and has never really "caught up" with the literature extent. So you see, it is not a question of "fairness" at all, but the problem has to do with scholarship and objectivity.... Let me give a few examples, and then close this letter, which fills me with misgivings of the most uncomfortable kind.

1. In *Six Theorists* (p.3) you mention "the first call" for a theory made "as long ago as 1966" by Delling. How could you know that in 1964 I wrote a paper entitled "a theory of learning by correspondence with the use of related media and technology,"

a paper given to the in Milwaukee committee on adult learning in February. In a staff paper for the American Council on education (1965) I repeated my call for a theory for correspondence study. In an address to the National University Extension Association (the same.) I refer to this need again. Alas, none of these efforts was published formally, although McKenzie did refer to my staff paper.... The papers were however, distributed among institutions and colleagues at that time – a sort of informal publication network. All this is not very important until someone begins the scholarly analysis of a particular idea and its evolution. When the practice of remembering, or noting sequentially, the evolution of ideas, then scholarship demands completeness. ...

Wedemeyer also noted that Keegan had said that Wedemeyer advocated the use of “all available media and methods” in a learning system. Keegan (1983b, p. 9), in *Six Theorists*, made the statement that “In the late 1970s this structure of Wedemeyer’s came under criticism. It was claimed that the concept of ‘using all available media and methods’ was poorly thought through and even the view of mixing media was queried. Faced with dictums like Daniel’s “interaction and independence: getting the mixture right,” Wedemeyer’s basis for putting forward his views on pacing and evaluation was questioned.”

Wedemeyer (1983b) challenged Keegan’s statement, saying that he had “carefully constructed a system that required the testing of media and methods first... and cautioned about costs; that is, use any medium or method that works; but in using more than one medium, they must be ‘articulated,’ each reinforcing the other to be appropriate.” He continued,

Nor did I suggest that ‘all’ media be used in every course – only those appropriate. This is ‘old hat’ of course, but in those days (the 50s and 60s) theory was evolving slowly out of the good deal of actual experimentation (1983b).

Wedemeyer (1983b) said that he was “jolted” by Keegan’s “flat statement (p. 28) that “Independent Study” is to “be rejected.” The reasons you give (p.29) do not seem to be sufficient because 1) the “normal” understanding is to some extent a cultural difference; in other words, people from different cultures will have "normal" differences. In a book on international perception of DE, you should note these differences, but how can you reject (except for yourself or the culture you represent) what others accept?"

Additionally, Wedemeyer raised concern about Keegan’s “dictum” of “interaction and independence,” noting that it was “not very different” from his own writings on interaction. Wedemeyer (1983b) also noted that there was “lengthy literature on independent study” and that there were “other meanings” that he and others had identified, that Keegan had disregarded.

Wedemeyer (1983b) stressed that the classification of “interaction and communication” as a theory was “unique enough to comprise a separate theory” and that “strong elements of interaction and communication are found in the other two classifications as well. Holmberg's "guided didactic conversation" is not really very different (is it?) from my "tutoring carried on by mail or other forms of communication."

Wedemeyer (1983b) included some of his earlier writings which he presented as evidence, and also noted that

these were not peculiar to my work alone (see Brandenburg essays) and were to be found in most of the early writers on distance education. What Holmberg has done, and done very well, is to formulate a theory held by many others before him, and to bring to its support a number of recent studies, not of course, available to early writers. This does not diminish Holmberg's important contribution, but it does raise question about the exclusivity of the "guided didactic" and the "interaction and communication" category used in Six Theorists and DE.

He congratulated Keegan and Holmberg

for a thoughtful analysis of DE theory, an original way of perceiving structures in the institution of numerous writers. ... It is of course, a personal judgment that selects, emphasizes, and categorizes. This is all legitimate scholarship, and very important in maintaining the encouragement of continuing study and development of theory" (Wedemeyer, 1983b).

A month later, Keegan (1983a) wrote back to Wedemeyer from South Australia, thanking him for his "very fair and generous letter plus enclosures." Keegan (1983a) continued,

I read it with growing trepidation from one paragraph to the next as my fears grew that my efforts had hurt you. I hope that this is not the case: certainly nothing could have been further from my intentions. The monograph was meant to be a small tribute to our leading writers on distance education – "theorists" is perhaps too strong. Please let me say, Chuck, that I want to write this letter in the friendliest way possible. I am not the slightest bit interested in trying to justify what I wrote, holding a debate or trying to prove anything.

Keegan (1983a) noted that his writing had been influenced by Ellis' contribution to the 1979 issue of the *Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education*. The quote about "the first call made by Delling" as well as the claim that Wedemeyer claimed that "all media" should be used came from Ellis.

Keegan (1983a) told Wedemeyer that his statement that "independent study is to be rejected" was too harsh" a use of words. He noted that he was not concerned about "who was the first to call for a theory of education at a distance or who first thought of two – way communication; perhaps it was Lighty or Harper."

It was Lighty who had referred to Chicago as a "long distance teaching institution" (O. MacKenzie & Christensen, 1971, p. 28; Moore, 1976).

Keegan (1983a) offered suggestions. He told Wedemeyer that he was writing a representation of the six theorists book and that he would go back over the chapter on theorists “in light of all the points made in your letter.” He also told Wedemeyer that he wanted to publish one of his early articles and asked if Wedemeyer could send him a copy of "a theory of learning by correspondence with the use of related media from 1964" or “Some hypothesis concerning correspondence education and other instructional media (1965) or perhaps “Going to College at Home (1963).

Wedemeyer (1983b) wrote to Keegan upon his return to the United States after his trip to Israel and to Germany, and told him that Keegan's was "one of the first letters I want to answer." "I appreciate your letter", Wedemeyer said, "and I'm sorry if my letter to you caused unease on your part. I wasn't hurt by your publication, but I was, I suppose, a little irritated by what seemed to be an incomplete analysis of my views. Forgive me of my irritation shared too strongly. You see, people in the field – and outside – believe what an authority writes on analyzing the contributors to the field.”

Wedemeyer (1983b) related a story about Ellis' comments, saying that there's more to Ellis' comments than the printed record shows. While Ellis was making his comments to my paper (at the SFU conference) there were several muted objections to Ellis by people in the audience who had, of course, heard my presentation. In the break that followed, a number of people – all experienced in distance education – expressed anger that Ellis used the occasion to make a ‘political’ statement in a continuing feud with other Canadians, and had failed to respond to the content of my paper. (I was unaware, at the time of any feud among different Canadians, and it was suggested that I was the hapless victim of a power struggle been going on.) Jack Blaney and others apologized for the incident, and I went home and forgot about it. Some months later, the *Canadian Journal* published the papers and responses of the SFU meeting, and to my

surprise, a new round of commentary on the conference incident came about. Richard Hopkins, a professor at Vancouver community college (also engaged in DED), wrote a paper about the conference... I've enclosed some of these materials for use of that you can for yourself judge the public as well as private reaction to Ellis's comments. It appears that Ellis's response to my paper was not widely regarded as a reliable and unbiased critique. None of this reaction appears in the documentation centers on distance education, which of course access the Canadian Journal, but probably have never heard of the UCC newsletter. Well, these things happen sometimes. ... I'm glad you responded in friendliness, for that's what I feel towards you. In a few days I'll have time to dig out the old papers you may be interested in, duplicate them, and send them to you.

Analysis of the Wedemeyer – Keegan exchange. This is another example of how a myth can be passed along in an academic field. The Wedemeyer – Keegan exchange above is also an example of Wedemeyer's continued efforts to preserve not only his own legacy, but to preserve the history of the field from his perspective. It is also an example of a scholar who, in a friendly manner, was attempting to urge a colleague to, as he suggested to Daniel in the other exchange that has been discussed, to carry on rigorous research of foundational material and to take care with the analysis of that material. This example further illustrates how politics associated with the field (e.g. the Ellis comments and infighting in Canada) can have an effect on scholarship and historical accounts.

As part of the analysis of Keegan's (1983b, p. 9), *Six Theorists*, this researcher reviewed Keegan's statement,

In the late 1970s this structure of Wedemeyer's came under criticism. It was claimed that the concept of 'using all available media and methods' was poorly thought through and even the view of mixing media was queried. Faced with dictums like Daniel's

“interaction and independence: getting the mixture right,” Wedemeyer’s basis for putting forward his views on pacing and evaluation was questioned.

On the previous page of this particular section, Keegan (1983b, p. 8) has listed Wedemeyer’s *Ten Characteristics of an independent study system*, one of which is, “combination of media: system should mix media as appropriate.” Wedemeyer’s words *as appropriate* do not imply the use of all media, anytime; and Keegan’s aforementioned statement that “In the late 1970s this structure of Wedemeyer’s came under criticism. It was claimed that the concept of ‘using all available media and methods’ was poorly thought through and even the view of mixing media was queried” has no references or discussion of what the criticisms were attached to it. The wording of this particular paragraph, I believe, could easily be interpreted to mean that people in the field (and in particular, the Daniel article) have substantially improved Wedemeyer’s work.

The following section provides another example of Wedemeyer’s efforts to preserve the legacy of those who had worked during foundational years in the field.

Von Pittman and the archives. As mentioned previously, Von Pittman had been an advocate for preserving historical documents related to the field of distance education, especially those that were associated with correspondence education. Arrangements were made so that The Pennsylvania State University could begin to store archival documents. Wedemeyer (1983c) wrote to Pittman telling him how pleased he was that “our archives be safeguarded in some official depository, and with the Penn State action, this seems to be accomplished. With Mike Moore at Penn State, there should be no problems of providing access to the members, and the general public.” He told Pittman that after his retirement, people said that “the shuffling of items to different places was characteristic, with less concern for historical accuracy and availability” (Wedemeyer, 1983c).

This interaction is another example of Wedemeyer's concern for the historical integrity of the field. Wedemeyer also donated the documents associated with his career to the University of Wisconsin archives.

Wedemeyer's Influence

An analysis of primary documents and secondary documents related to Wedemeyer's career confirms that distance education historians have drawn valid conclusions in stating that Wedemeyer was a major figure and did play a guiding leadership role in the evolution of open and distance education, including the OUUK, which became the world's show piece for the open education system and Open University model.

While researching the origins of the OUUK within the framework of Wedemeyer's career, this researcher looked for other data that would provide additional insights into areas of influence. In the literature reviewed, it is proposed by Black (2004) and by Garrison (2000) that Peters' industrial model of distance education influenced the OUUK. While Peters' model is, as Garrison (2000) notes, a "coherent, rigorous and pervasive example of distance education theory," that describes the industrial model that the OUUK uses, in this study, no evidence was found that the OUUK looked directly to Peters' theory for inspiration. As has been pointed out, Wedemeyer did not articulate the theory that Peters developed, but he did develop distance education systems that incorporated the industrial model, and he did have discussions with Peters in Wisconsin about the programs that he had in place. The OUUK planners learned about Wedemeyer's systems from conferences, lectures, publications, and direct contact with Wedemeyer.

Black (2004) also proposes that Holmberg influenced the OUUK. Wedemeyer did suggest that the OUUK planners should look at Hermods in Sweden, and so it is possible that they developed some ideas from there. Wedemeyer had been very impressed with the high quality of Hermods' materials, and the OUUK has been known for the quality of its materials. Early

histories of the OUUK that have been found for this study do not mention Peters or Holmberg (Hollis, 1997; Perry, 1976; Tunstall, 1974). The OUUK archives, however, may reveal additional information on Holmberg and Peters' direct influence, and may be a topic of interest to scholars for future research.

Additionally, this study has investigated Garrison's (2000) statement that "the exact influence" of Wedemeyer's "writings and lectures on the establishment of the BOU (British Open University) may be open to debate." The evidence presented in this study regarding Wedemeyer shows that his work directly influenced the foundations of the OUUK design and development, and while there may be more to learn, this study should crystallize that debate.

This study has presented specific examples of contemporary distance education scholarship in which incomplete historical foundation research may have led to the marginal presence of Wedemeyer's contributions, as well as the contributions of other individuals who were contemporaries of Wedemeyer. For example, Keegan can be credited for placing Wedemeyer within the historical distance education conversation, and yet his 1983 work *Six Theorists* did not fully report the work of Wedemeyer and others.

There are myriad reasons for the exclusion of foundational work in the literature reviews that scholars base their writings on. In the age of the World Wide Web, scholars have many materials available at their fingertips, but as has been illustrated throughout this thesis, during the years that Wedemeyer and his contemporaries were surveying the field of distance education, access to the latest materials, news and studies was made possible mainly through the use of the postal services around the world. Days, or even weeks or months passed between a request for some publication and the reception of it. Digital copies of materials were decades away, and the expense of copying a new dissertation, as illustrated in the previous section on Otto Peters, could be cost prohibitive. Aside from the technologies that were needed to manufacture and deliver

materials, it was a network of human beings who shared the new knowledge that was being generated. Wedemeyer played an instrumental role in the development of such a network.

The Wedemeyer archives at University of Wisconsin provide evidence that Wedemeyer corresponded with over 135 individuals in at least 35 countries outside of the United States in Africa, Asia, South America, and Europe. He responded to inquiries; shared publications, documents and other information; introduced colleagues; gave advice; and made queries of his own; and there are thousands of typed and handwritten letters that provide insights into the human network that developed over the course of his career.

As Wedemeyer's career shows, it was not only the use of correspondence that enabled the network to develop. Individuals in the field traveled great distances in order to meet face-to-face at conferences, at their respective universities, and at organizational meetings. Wedemeyer was a relentless traveler, and throughout his career he attended both domestic and international events. For example, between 1961 and 1966, Wedemeyer made 23 trips, including the UK (4), France (2), Spain (1), Australia (1), Germany (2), Holland (2), Switzerland (1), Denmark (2), Sweden (3), Norway (2), Finland (1), and Venezuela (2). Early in his career, he took the initiative to attend conferences, to visit other institutions, and to reach out to organizations. As his career progressed, he was on the receiving end of invitations, and it appears that he rarely refused. Wedemeyer also invited visitors to the University of Wisconsin and encouraged others to participate in organizations that he was affiliated with, such as ICCE.

As Pittman (1990b, 2003a, 2003b) has stated, distance educators are forward-looking. Many of them are practitioners and scholars who are concerned about developing quality programs in the midst of ever-changing technologies and never-ending funding challenges. This accounts for the lack of general historical accounts related to the field and is also a factor that is responsible for Wedemeyer's marginal presence.

Wilson Thiede (1975), Provost of The University of Wisconsin System for University Outreach, in a letter of recommendation that was sent to O. C. Rowntree (Chairman of the Selection Committee for the Joseph C. Wilson Award), offered his own explanation of why Wedemeyer's work appeared to have been marginalized during his career, saying that "Wedemeyer's present recognition comes late because he has had to face the slings and arrows of conventional thinkers while patiently and with good humor continuing his work." This quote speaks to earlier sections that have noted that during the AIM program, departments and individuals at the University of Wisconsin were threatened; individuals and institutions throughout the University of Wisconsin system felt threatened by new programs such as AIM. The OUUK and its proponents faced the same criticisms and distrust, but as has also been discussed, they had the political backing of Harold Wilson and people like Jennie Lee and even Margaret Thatcher to push it through the political opposition to its fruition. AIM, on the other hand, did not have the funding or the political independence to continue after its four year experimental period came to a close.

Professionals in the field today are struggling with many of the same issues that professionals in the field struggled with 50 years ago and earlier. Wedemeyer's (1966f) essay in *Brandenburg Memorial Essays II* discussed the issues that teachers have with emerging technologies, and that they also have with changes to systems. Educational institutions, especially traditional institutions of higher education, are slow to change, and new models threaten existing power structures. There has also been a tension between the University and Extension since Extension began, and this is also a factor in Wedemeyer's marginal presence within his own University.

At the heart of the development of the field of distance education is the idea of democratization of education that has its roots in adult education. Wedemeyer predicted that everyone in the world would one day have the opportunity to learn through distance education,

and as new technologies emerged and old technologies were improved, they could be used as tools in the process within the system. His Open School concept for the state of Wisconsin (which did not come to fruition due to political opposition in 1972), was one of cradle to grave learning and education for all who lived within the borders of the state. He clearly saw that this concept was possible to achieve throughout the world. In 2000, UNESCO created the millennium goals of education for all, from elementary school age on.

Wedemeyer saw the complexity of the “human technology” and he saw the man-made technologies as tools that should be used in a Humanist manner and strived to develop systems that created an environment that put the learner more in control of his or her own destiny.

Limitations of Study

In the pursuit to gain a better understanding of the role the Charles Wedemeyer played in the evolution of open and distance education, it has been necessary to peruse, collect, piece together, and analyze thousands of documents, and then to write about a prolific career that spanned five decades. In order to understand Wedemeyer's place in the evolution of open and distance education, hundreds of secondary sources that cover a time span of at least 150 years have been examined and thousands of primary sources have been collected and analyzed. Additionally, it is possible that documents that could shed light on the questions are sitting on a shelf somewhere or have been thrown away long ago. Because of temporal, financial, and practical considerations, it was challenging and not possible to address and to pursue all of the areas and questions that were raised as this topic was researched. In addition to these limitations, the limitations of the researcher's own interest or “temperament” as Barzun and Graff (Barzun & Graff, 2004, p. 154) state, “determine his discoveries, his selection, his pattern-making, and his exposition.”

While this study has provided new details and analysis of the evolution of open and distance education, the limitations have also brought to light areas for future research.

Recommendations for Future Research

The importance of capturing the stories of the people who have been involved in the field is illustrated by information that came to light in the final week of preparing this dissertation. In searching for data on Nottingham University, this researcher learned that Walter James (of the OUUK), died on December 25, 2010, less than two months before this dissertation was completed. The assumption that James had died years ago is one that this researcher will long regret, and it is evidence of the importance of capturing the histories of past educators - before their stories, and the stories of the field are lost.

During this research, many new questions have arisen and one need only spend an hour in The Pennsylvania State University or Madison library archives to be inspired by the untapped possibilities. As noted in the prior section on limitations of this study, it has been impossible to pursue each door that has been opened during the process. The following sections address some of the recommendations of people, institutions and questions that would be interesting for a researcher to study, as well as valuable to the history of the field and to the institutions that are mentioned.

People of interest. The following people have been mentioned in this thesis, have made substantial contributions to the field of distance and open education, and have limited research done on their careers: Walter James (Nottingham and OUUK); Gayle B. Childs (University of Nebraska); Cyril O. Houle (University of Chicago); Ripley Sims (USAFI); Börje Holmberg (Hermods); Michael G. Moore (The Pennsylvania State University); Otto Peters (Fernstudiit); Sir John Daniel (Commonwealth of Learning); Dr. Gustaf Carne (Director general of Hermods 1928-1955); Charles F. Hoban and James D. Finn (1950s advocates of system approach for education); Michael Young of NEC. There are many other distance educators and adult educators who have made contributions, and research into them and to the interactions of the people in the field will provide a wealth of insights into the evolution of the field.

Organizations to research. The following organizations have had limited research attention: USAFI; NEC; Hermods; Commonwealth of Learning; UNISA; Nottingham University; The Pennsylvania State University; Universities around the world; Commonwealth of Learning; and the OUUK; EDSAT. There are many other open and distance education organizations and Open Universities with rich histories to be researched.

Topics for future research. There are many questions and areas of areas of research to explore that arise from this study. Examples include: How was AIM affected by Wedemeyer leaving to become Kellogg Fellow at Oxford? What impact did ongoing political and social relationship between University and Extension have on Wedemeyer and the programs that he ran? What do OUUK archival documents reveal about the early planning and evolution of the OUUK? What, if any changes were implemented at UNISA after Wedemeyer's report? What impact has ICDE had on the field of open and distance education after 1982?

As noted in the section on USAFI conferences, in 1956, Charles F. Hoban gave a keynote address that was entitled, "A Systems Approach to Audio-Visual Communication." Wedemeyer's archives include the 1955-1959 conference summary book of the Okoboji conferences, so it is likely that he was aware of Hoban's work. There is no indication that Wedemeyer corresponded with Hoban or Finn, another systems approach advocate. Additional research of the Systems approach and its relationship to education would be valuable.

The sub-genre of history of distance education is a relatively untapped area for future research. Technologies such as the Penny Black stamp, radio, television, satellite transmission, the VCR, and the computer have all played a part in the development of the field of distance education. These technologies have all played a role in the way that students and teacher communicate when separated by a physical distance. The emergence of the World Wide Web has created an explosion in number of distance education programs and in the amount of information that is available to individuals throughout the world.

The relationship of Extension to the traditional University is a topic that could be explored from many angles and the personal stories of adult educators and their struggles would provide interesting and valuable information.

The Pennsylvania State University connection. The evolution of correspondence education within Extension at universities all across the United States, and for that matter, across the world, would be valuable to the history of distance education. An example that arose in this study is the evolution of correspondence study at The Pennsylvania State University, another educational institution that has played a leadership role in distance education. There is also a Wedemeyer connection that could be pursued. Wedemeyer worked with Gordon Godbey, the Assistant Dean for Continuing Education, College of Education at The Pennsylvania State University. In November 1962, Godbey (1962a) wrote to Wedemeyer and told him that "One of the jobs that has been handed to me in my new position here is that of trying 'do something' about correspondence. We have a few courses well active but they are pretty traditional paper-and-pencil courses and should be remodeled considerably." Godbey noted in his letter that they were considering the inclusion of visuals, tape recordings and the telephone so that students could talk to their instructors, and that they were also thinking of using video-telephones for synchronous communication. Because he was not sure if he would be attending NUEA in the Spring, he invited Wedemeyer to visit in State College, Pennsylvania. Wedemeyer received the letter on November 7 and the two talked on the telephone. It was arranged that Wedemeyer would stop at The Pennsylvania State University on his to the Armed Forces conference that he was attending in Baltimore the following month. Dean Bixby of The Pennsylvania State University met Wedemeyer on the night of December 4 and Godbey met with Wedemeyer the afternoon of the 4th and morning of December 5 (Godbey, 1962a, 1962b; Wedemeyer, 1962b). Wedemeyer also worked with The Pennsylvania State University in February of 1967, and participated in a research project conducted by Dr. H. LeRoy Marlow of The Pennsylvania State University. The

study focused on education using the correspondence method in hospitals. Wedemeyer contributed to the final report with a chapter on the Evolution of correspondence education.

Relevance

Open and distance Education is a field of study and practice that has seen renewed growth, especially since the development of HTML and the World Wide Web in the 1990s. The Open Educational Resources (OER) movement has grown out of the continued efforts by individuals and their institutions to make information and opportunities for learning available to anyone who has access to technology that is connected to the Internet. While the emergence of new technologies has created innovative means for reaching more and more people around the globe, the roots are anchored in the adult, open and distance education movement.

Through an analysis of historical reports and deep examination and analysis of archival evidence, this study has contributed new insights into the history of open and distance education. The study has also shed new light on institutions such as the OUUK, UNISA, NUEA, ICDE, USAFI, the University of Wisconsin, and the State of Wisconsin. It has also brought to light the contributions of Charles A. Wedemeyer and his contemporaries who worked, much like today's educators and scholars, sometimes in harmony, and sometimes with conflicting goals – to bring education to the non-traditional, back door learners of the world.

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Publications

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Professional Experience

AmericanPoverty.org, *Education Director*. Chicago, IL, 2008-present.
International Museum of Distance Education and Technology, *Founder*.
VA, 2007- present.
National Institute for Literacy, *Consultant*. Washington, DC, 2010-present.
Quality Matters, *Consultant*. Annapolis, MD, 2010-present.